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Antiquitates Apostolicæ:

OR, THE

LIVES,

Acts and Martyrdoms

OF THE

HOLY APOSTLES

OF OUR

SAVIOUR.

To which are added

The LIVES of the Two EVANGELISTS,
SS. MARK and LUKE.

AS ALSO

A Brief Enumeration and Account of the Apostles and their Successours for
The first Three Hundred Years in the Five great Apostolical Churches.

By WILLIAM CAVE, D. D. Chaplain in
Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 28.

Ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὃς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐκ καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματός, τὰς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται εἰς καὶ μόνους τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀντὶ μαθητῶν κατὰ τι μέρος ἐξαίρετον ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥΣ ὀνόμασεν.

Chrysost. Præfat. in Epist. ad Philem. pag. 1733.

Ὅτι μόνον τὰς ἑπτὰ μικρὰς ἐπισκοπὰς, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ περιγμάτων ἀναγκαῖον ἐπισταλόμεναι εἶεν ἐγγεγραφεῖαι· ἀλλ' εἴθε καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἰσορίαν ἡμῶν ὡραδίαν· καὶ Ἀποστόλων, ὃς λίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγγράφησαν καὶ διελύθησαν, ἀλλ' καὶ τὴν ἄλλω αὐτοῖς ἀναγεροφῶν, καὶ τί ἴσμεν, καὶ πότε ἴσμεν, πότε ἐκείδουσιν, καὶ πῶς ἐκείδουσιν, καὶ τί καὶ ἐκείδω ἡμέραν διαπερῆσαι, τοίοις οὖν ἀνδράσι γένεσθαι, καὶ εἰς ποίαν οἰκίαν εἰσέλθον, καὶ πῶς κατήχθησαν, καὶ μὲν ἀκρίβειαν πάντα διηγῆσθαι· ἕτω πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκαμένα πολλὰς ὠφελείας γένηται.

LONDON,

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE,

And Right Reverend Father in GOD,

NATHANIEL

LORD BISHOP of DURHAM,

And Clerk of the Closet to His MAJESTY.

My LORD,



NOTHING but a great experience of Your Lordship's Candour could warrant the laying what concernment I have in these Papers at Your Lordship's feet. Not but that the Subject is in it self Great and Venerable, and a considerable part of it built upon that Authority that needs no Patronage to defend it: But to prefix Your Lordship's Name to a Subject so thinly and meanly manag'd, may perhaps deserve a bigger Apology than I can make. I have only brought some few scattered handfuls of Primitive Story, contenting my self to Glean, where I could not Reap. And I am well assur'd, that Your Lordship's wisdom and love to Truth would neither allow me to make my Materials, nor to trade in Legends and Fabulous reports. And yet, alas! how little solid Foundation is left to build upon in these matters? So fatally mischievous was the carelessness of those who ought to have been the Guardians of Books and Learning in their several Ages, in suffering the Records of the Ancient Church to perish. Unfaithful Trustees, to look no better after such Divine and inestimable Treasures committed to them! Not to mention those infinite Devastations that in all Ages have been made by Wars and Flames, which certainly have provid the most severe and merciless Plagues and Enemies to Books.

By such unhappy Accidents as these we have been robb'd of the Treasures of the wiser and better Ages of the World, and

THE EPISTLE

especially the Records of the first times of Christianity, whereof scarce any footsteps do remain. So that in this Enquiry I have been forc'd to traverse remote and desert paths, ways that afford little fruit to the weary Passenger; but the consideration, that it was Primitive and Apostolical, sweetned my Journey, and rendred it pleasant and delightful. Our inbred thirst after knowledge naturally obliges us to pursue the notices of former times, which are recommended to us with this peculiar advantage, that the Stream must needs be purer and clearer, the nearer it comes to the Fountain; for the Ancients (as Plato speaks) were ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐγγύς τῶν οὐρανῶν, better than we, and dwelt nearer to the Gods. And though 'tis true the state of those times is very obscure and dark, and truth oft covered over with heaps of idle and improbable Traditions; yet it may be worth our labour to seek for a few Jewels, though under a whole heap of Rubbish. Is not the Gleaning of the Ancients (say the Jews) better than the Vintage of later times? The very fragments of Antiquity are Venerable, and at once instruct our minds, and gratifie our curiosity. Besides, I was somewhat the more inclinable to retire again into these studies, that I might get as far as I could from the crowd and the noise of a quarrelsome and contentious Age.

In Phileb. pag.
16. Tom. 2.

האחרונים
האחרונים
האחרונים

My LORD,

We live in times, wherein Religion is almost wholly disputed into talk and clamour, men wrangle eternally about useless and insignificant Notions, and which have no tendency to make a man either wiser or better. And in these quarrels the Laws of Charity are violated, and men persecute one another with hard names and characters of reproach, and after all consecrate their fierceness with the honourable title of Zeal for Truth. And what is yet a much sorer evil, the Peace and Order of an excellent Church, incomparably the best that ever was since the first Ages of the Gospel, is broken down, her holy Offices derided, her solemn Assemblies deserted, her Laws and Constitutions slighted, the Guides and Ministers of Religion despised, and reduc'd to their Primitive Character, The Scum and Off-scouring of the World. How much these evils have contributed to the Atheism and Impiety of the present Age, I shall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am, the thing it self is too sadly visible, men are

DEDICATORY.

are not content to be modest and retired Atheists, and with the Fool to say only in their hearts, There is no God; but Impiety appears with an open forehead, and disputes its place in every company; and without any regard to the Voice of Nature, the Dictates of Conscience, and the common sense of Mankind, men peremptorily determine against a Supreme Being, account it a pleasant divertisement to droll upon Religion, and a piece of Wit to plead for Atheism. To avoid the Press and troublesome importunity of such uncomfortable Reflections, I find no better way, than to retire into those Primitive and better times, those first and purest Ages of the Gospel, when men really were, what they pretended to be, when a solid Piety and Devotion, a strict Temperance and Sobriety, a Catholick and unbounded Charity, an exemplary Honesty and Integrity, a great reverence for every thing that was Divine and Sacred, rendred Christianity Venerable to the World, and led not only the Rude and Barbarous, but the Learned and Politer part of Mankind in Triumph after it.

But, My LORD, I must remember that the Minutes of great Men are Sacred, and not to be invaded by every tedious impertinent address. I have done, when I have begg'd leave to acquaint Your Lordship, that had it not been more through other mens fault than my own, these Papers had many Months since waited upon You in the number of those Publick Congratulations, which gave You joy of that great Place, which you worthily sustain in the Church. Which that You may long and prosperously enjoy, happily adorn, and successfully discharge to the honour of God, the benefit of the Church, and the endearing Your Lordship's Memory to Posterity, is the hearty Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's faithfully

devoted Servant,

WILLIAM CAVE.

DEDICATORY.

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WILLIAM CAVE



TO THE
READER.

I T will not, I suppose, seem improbable to the Reader, when I tell him, with how much reluctancy and unwillingness I set upon this undertaking. Besides the disadvantage of having this piece annexed to the Elaborate Book of that excellent Prelate, so great a Master both of Learning and Language, I was intimately conscious to my own unsuitness for such a Work at any time, much more when clogg'd with many habitual Infirmities and Distempers. I considered the difficulty of the thing it self, perhaps not capable of being well managed by a much better Pen than mine; few of the Ancient Monuments of the Church being extant, and little of this nature in those few that are. Indeed I could not but think it reasonable, that all possible honour should be done to those, that first Preached the Gospel of peace, and brought glad tidings of good things, that it was fit men should be taught how much they were obliged to those excellent Persons, who were willing at so dear a rate to plant Christianity in the World, who they were, and what was that Piety and that Patience, that Charity and that Zeal, which made them to be reverenc'd while they liv'd, and their Memories ever since to be honourably celebrated through the World, infinitely beyond the glories of Alexander, and the triumphs of a Pompey or a Cæsar. But then how this should be done out of those few imperfect Memoirs, that have escaped the general shipwreck of Church Antiquities, and much more by so rude and unskilfull a hand as mine, appear'd, I confess, a very difficult task, and next door to impossible. These, with some other considerations,

To the R E A D E R.

tions, made me a long time obstinately resolve against it, till, being overcome by importunity, I yielded to do it, as I was able, and as the nature of the thing would bear.

THAT which I primarily designed to my self, was to draw down the History of the New Testament, especially from our Lord's death, to enquire into the first Originals and Plantations of the Christian Church by the Ministry of the Apostles, the success of their Doctrine, the power and conviction of their Miracles, their infinite Labours and hardships, and the dreadful Sufferings which they underwent; to consider in what instances of Piety and Vertue they ministered to our imitation, and served the purposes of Religion and an Holy life. Indeed the accounts that are left us of these things are very short and inconsiderable, sufficient possibly to excite the appetite, not to allay the hunger of an importunate Enquirer into these matters. A consideration that might give us just occasion to lament the irreparable loss of those primitive Records, which the injury of time hath deprived us of, the substance being gone, and little left us but the shell and Carcass. Had we the Writings of Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, and Scholar, says Irenæus to S. John; (wherein as himself tells us, he set down what he had learnt from those who had familiarly conversed with the Apostles, the sayings and discourses of Andrew and Peter, of Philip and Thomas, &c.) Had we the Ancient Commentaries of Hegesippus, Clemens Alexandrinus his Institutions, Africanus his Cronography, and some others, the Reader might expect more intire and particular relations. But alas! these are long since perish'd: and little besides the names of them transmitted to us. Nor should we have had most of that little which is left us, had not the commendable care and industry of Eusebius preserv'd it to us. And if he complain'd in his time (when those Writings were extant) that towards the composing of his History he had onely some few particular accounts here and there left by the Ancients of their times; what cause have we to complain, when even those little portions have been ravish'd from us? So that he that would build a work of this nature, must look upon himself as condemn'd to a kind of Egyptian Task, to make Brick without Straw, at least to pick it up where he can find it, though after all it amounts to a very slender parcel. Which as it greatly hinders the beauty and completeness

Apud Euseb.
H. Eccl. lib.
3. c. 39. p.
111.

Hist. Eccl.
lib. 1. c. 2. p.
4.

To the READER.

ness of the structure, so does it exceedingly multiply the labour and difficulty. For by this means I have been forc'd to gather up those little fragments of Antiquity, that lie dispers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, thrown some into this corner, and others into that; which I have at length put together, like the pieces of a broken Statue, that it might have at least some kind of resemblance of the person, whom it designs to represent.

H A D I thought good to have traded in idle and frivolous Authours, Abdias Babylonius, the Passions of Peter and Paul, Joachim Perionius, Peter de Natalibus, and such like, I might have presented the Reader with a larger, not a better account. But besides the averseness of my nature to falsehoods and trifles, especially in matters wherein the honour of the Christian Religion is concern'd, I knew the World to be wiser at this time of day, than to be imposed upon by Pious frauds, and cheated with Ecclesiastical Romances and Legendary Reports. For this reason I have more fully and particularly insisted upon the Lives of the two first Apostles, so great a part of them being secur'd by an unquestionable Authority, and have presented the larger portions of the Sacred History, many times to very minute circumstances of action. And I presume the wise and judicious Reader will not blame me, for chusing rather to enlarge upon a story, which I knew to be infallibly true, than to treat him with those, which there was cause enough to conclude to be certainly false.

T H E Reader will easily discern that the Authours I make use of are not all of the same rank and size. Some of them are Divinely inspir'd, whose Authority is Sacred, and their reports rendred not onely credible, but unquestionable, by that infallible and unerring Spirit that presided over them. Others such, of whose faith and testimony, especially in matters of fact, there is no just cause to doubt, I mean the genuine Writings of the Ancient Fathers, or those, which though unduly assign'd to this or that particular Father, are yet generally allowed to be Ancient, and their credit not to be despis'd, because their proper Parent is not certainly known. Next these come the Writers of the middle and later Ages of the Church, who though below the former in point of credit, have yet some particular advantages that recommend them to us. Such I account Symeon

To the R E A D E R.

meon Metaphraſtes, Nicephorus Calliſtus, the Menæa and Menologies of the Greek Church, &c. wherein though we meet with many vain and improbable ſtories, yet may we alſo rationally expect ſome real and ſubſtantial accounts of things, eſpecially ſeeing they had the advantage of many Ancient and Eccleſiaſtical Writings, extant in their times, which to us are utterly loſt. Though even theſe too I have never called in, but in the want of more Ancient and Authentick Writers. As for others, if any paſſages occur either in themſelves of doubtfull and ſuſpected credit, or borrowed from ſpurious and uncertain Authours, they are always introduced or diſmiſſed with ſome kind of cenſure or remark, that the moſt eaſie and credulous Reader may know what to truſt to, and not fear being ſecretly ſurpriz'd into a belief of doubtfull and fabulous reports. And now after all, I am ſufficiently ſenſible, how lank and thin this Account is, nor can the Reader be leſs ſatisfied with it, than I am my ſelf; and I have only this piece of juſtice and charity to beg of him, that he would ſuſpend his cenſure, till he has taken a little pains to enquire into the ſtate of the Times and Things I write of: And then however he may challenge my prudence in undertaking it, he will not, I hope, ſee reaſon to charge me with want of care and faithfulneſs in the purſuance of it.

THE

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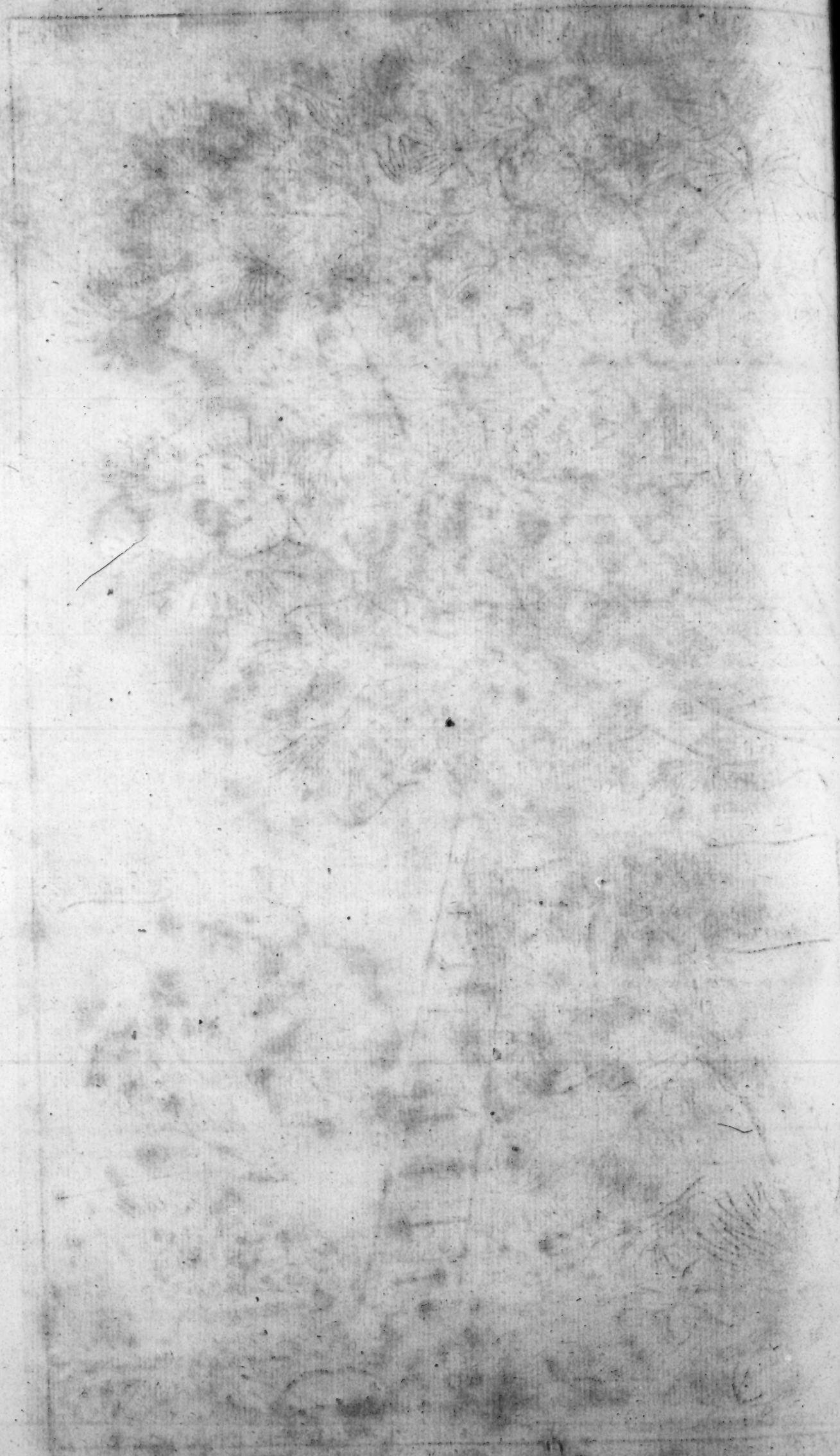
Diptycha Apostolica, Or, an Enumeration of the Apostles, and their Successors for the first three hundred years, in the five great Churches said to have been founded by them. pag 183

IMPRIMATUR.
THO. TOMKINS.

Ex Æd. Lambeth.
Feb. 25. 1674.



with the modern Shoots & Slips of divided NOVELTIES in the Church
are the Introduction of the Apostles Lives





THE INTRODUCTION.

Christ's faithfulness in appointing Officers in his Church. The dignity of the Apostles above the rest. The importance of the word 'Αποστολῆς. The Nature of the Apostolick Office considered. Respect had in founding it to the custom among the Jews. Their Apostoli, who. The number of the Apostles limited. Why twelve, the several conjectures of the Ancients. Their immediate election. Their work wherein it consisted. The Universality of their Commission. Apostolical Churches, what. How soon the Apostles propagated Christianity through the World. An argument for the Divinity of the Christian Religion infer'd thence. The power conveyed to the Apostles, equally given to all. Peter's superiority over the rest disprov'd both from Scripture and Antiquity. The Apostles how qualified for their Mission. Immediately taught the Doctrine they delivered. Infallibly secur'd from Error in delivering it. Their constant and familiar converse with their Master. Furnished with the power of working Miracles. The great evidence of it to prove a Divine Doctrine. Miraculous powers conferr'd upon the Apostles particularly considered. Prophecy, what, and when it ceas'd. The gift of discerning Spirits. The gift of Tongues. The gift of Interpretation. The unreasonable practice of the Church of Rome in keeping the Scripture and Divine Worship in an Unknown Tongue. The gift of Healing, greatly advantageous to Christianity; how long it lasted. Power of immediately inflicting corporal punishments; and the great benefit of it in those times. The Apostles enabled to conferr miraculous powers upon others. The Duration of the Apostolical Office. What in it extraordinary, what ordinary. Bishops in what sense styled Apostles.

I. **J**ESUS CHRIST the great Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession, being appointed by God to be the Supreme Ruler and Governour of his Church, was, like Moses, faithfull in all his house: but with this honourable advantage, that Moses was faithful as a Servant, Christ as a Son over his own house, which he erected, established and governed with all possible care and diligence. Nor could he give a greater instance either of his fidelity towards God, or his love and kindness to the Souls of men, than that after he had purchas'd a Family to himself, and could now no longer upon earth manage its interests in his own person, he would not return back to Heaven, till he had constituted several Orders and Officers in his Church, who might superintend and conduct its affairs; and according to the various circumstances of its state, administer to the needs and exigencies of his Family. Accordingly therefore he gave some Apostles,

* Serm. de util.
lection. S. Scrip.
Tom. 8. Edit.
Savil. p. 114.

Luke 6. 13.

ἀποστόλων μέζων ἔτιν αρχὴ ἢ ἀποστολική, says * Chrysostom, but the Apostolick eminency is far greater than all these, which therefore he calls a *spiritual Consulship*, an Apostle having as great preheminance above all other Officers in the Church, as the Consul had above all other Magistrates in Rome. These Apostles were a few select persons whom our Lord chose out of the rest, to devolve part of the Government upon their shoulders, and to depute for the first planting and settling Christianity in the World: *He chose twelve, whom he named Apostles*: of whose Lives and Acts being to give an Historical account in the following Work, it may not possibly be unusefull to premise some general remarks concerning them, not respecting this or that particular person, but of a general relation to the whole, wherein we shall especially take notice of the importance of the word, the nature of the employment, the fitness and qualification of the persons, and the duration and continuance of the Office.

II. The word Ἀπόστολος, or *sent*, is among ancient Writers applied either to things, actions, or persons. To things; thus those *dimissory* Letters that were granted to such who appeal'd from an inferior to a superior Judicature, were in the language of the * *Roman* Laws usually called *Apostoli*: thus a Pacquet-boat was styled, ἀπόστολον πλοῖον, because sent up and down for advice and dispatch of business: thus, though in somewhat a different sense, the Lesson taken out of the *Epistles* is in the ancient Greek || Liturgies called ἀπίστολος, because usually taken out of the *Apostles* Writings. Sometimes it is applied to actions, and so imports no more than mission, or the very act of sending; thus the setting out a Fleet, or a Naval expedition was wont to be called ἀπόστολος, * so *Suidas* tells us, that as the persons designed for the cure and management of the Fleet were called ἀποστολῆς, so the very sending forth of the Ships themselves αἱ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπαρασκευαί, were styled ἀπόστολοι. Lastly, what principally falls under our present consideration, it is applied to persons, and so imports no more than a Messenger, a person sent upon some special errand, for the discharge of some peculiar affair in his name that sent him. Thus *Epaphroditus* is called the *Apostle* or Messenger of the *Philippians*, when sent by them to *S. Paul* at *Rome*: thus *Titus* and his Companions are styled ἀπόστολοι, the *Messengers of the Churches*. So our Lord; *he that is sent*, ἀπίστολος, *an Apostle or Messenger, is not greater than him that sent him*. This then being the common notion of the word, our Lord fixes it to a particular use, applying it to those select persons, whom he had made choice of to act by that peculiar authority and commission, which he had deriv'd upon them. *Twelve, whom he also named Apostles*; that is, Commissioners, those who were to be Embassadors for *Christ*, to be sent up and down the World in his Name, to plant the Faith, to govern and superintend the Church at present, and by their wise and prudent settlement of affairs, to provide for the future exigencies of the Church.

III. The next thing then to be considered is the nature of their Office, and under this inquiry we shall make these following remarks. First, it is not to be doubted but that our Lord in founding this Office had some respect to the state of things in the *Jewish* Church, I mean not only in general, that there should be superior and subordinate Officers, as there were superior and inferiour Orders under the *Mosaick* dispensation; but that herein he had an eye to some usage and custom common among them. Now among the *Jews* as all Messengers were

'Αποστόλους ἢ κρίσιτι καὶ πῶς ἐστὶν ἰουδαίους
ἐνομαζέειν, τὸς ἐκκλησίας προσημασία παρὰ
τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτῶν ἀναγομνισαίνον. Euseb.
in Caten. M. S. apud Heintz. exerceit. in Luc. 6.

mong them. Now among the *Jews* as all Messengers were called **אֲפֹסְטוֹלִים**, or *Apostles*, so were they wont to dispatch some with peculiar Letters of Authority and Commission, whereby they acted as Proxies and Deputies of those that sent them, thence their Proverb, **כִּי אֲפֹסְטוֹלִים** *every man's Apostle is as himself*, that is, whatever he does is look'd upon to be as firm and valid, as if the person himself had done it. Thus when *Saul* was sent by the *Sanhedrim* to *Damascus* to apprehend the *Jewish* converts, he was furnished with letters from the High-priest, enabling him to act as his Commissary in that matter.

Indeed

Indeed * *Epiphanius* tells us of a sort of persons called *Apostles*, who were Assessours * *Heref. 30.*
and Counsellours to the *Jewish Patriarch*; constantly attending upon him to advise *P. 60.*
him in matters pertaining to the Law, and sent by him (as || he intimates) sometimes *Ibid. p. 63.*
to inspect and reform the manners of the Priests and *Jewish* Clergy, and the irregula-
rities of Country-Synagogues, with commission to gather the Tenth and First-fruits
due in all the Provinces under his jurisdiction. Such Apostles we find mention'd both
by * *Julian* the Emperour in an Epistle to the *Jews*, and in a Law of the Emperour * *Epist. 25.*
|| *Honorius* employ'd by the Patriarch to gather once a year the *Aurum Coronarium* or *P. 153.*
Crown-Gold, a Tribute annually paid by them to the *Roman* Emperours. But these *L. 14. C.*
Apostles could not under that notion be extant in our Saviour's time; though sure we *Th. de Judais*
are there was then something like it. * *Philo* the *Jew* more than once mentioning the *lib. 16. Tit. 8.*
ιεροποιοι καὶ ἱεραὶ ἐκαστον ἐνιαυτον χρυσον καὶ ἀργυρον πλεον ἑκατόντα εἰς τὸ ἱερον, καὶ
ἀποσταδέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀπαρχῶν, the sacred messengers annually sent to collect the holy ** Lib. de legat.*
treasure paid by way of First-fruits, and to carry it to the Temple at *Jerusalem*. How- *ad Caium, pag.*
ever our Lord in conformity to the general custom of those times, of appointing *1023. vid. p.*
Apostles or Messengers, as their Proxies and Deputies to act in their names, call'd and *1025. E.*
denominated those Apostles, whom he peculiarly chose to represent his person, to
communicate his mind and will to the World, and to act as Embassadors or Com-
missioners in his room and stead.

IV. Secondly, We observe that the persons thus deputed by our Saviour were not
left uncertain, but reduced to a fixed definite number, confin'd to the just number of
Twelve; *he ordained twelve that they should be with him.* A number that seems to car- *Mark 3. 15.*
ry something of mystery and peculiar design in it, as appears in that the Apostles were
so carefull upon the fall of *Judas* immediately to supply it. The Fathers are very
wide and different in their conjectures about the reason of it. * *S. Augustine* thinks * *Serm. 3. in*
our Lord herein had respect to the four quarters of the World, which were to be *Psal. 103.*
called by the preaching of the Gospel, which being multiplied by three (to denote *Col. 1192.*
the *Trinity*, in whose name they were to be called) make Twelve. || *Tertullian* *Tom. 8. vid. in*
will have them typified by the twelve fountains in *Elm*, the Apostles being sent out *Psal. 59.*
to water and refresh the dry thirsty World with the knowledge of the truth; by *Col. 603.*
the twelve precious stones in *Aaron's* breast-plate, to illuminate the Church, the gar- *Adv. Marcion.*
ment which *Christ* our great High-priest has put on; by the twelve stones which *Jo-*
Josua chose out of *Jordan* to lay up within the Ark of the Testament, respecting the *lib. 4. c. 13.*
firmness and solidity of the Apostles Faith, their being chosen by the true *Jesus* or
Josua at their Baptism in *Jordan*, and their being admitted in the inner Sanctuary
of his Covenant. By others we are told that it was shadowed out by the twelve Spies
taken out of every Tribe, and sent to discover the Land of Promise: or by the twelve
gates of the City in *Ezekiel's* vision; or by the twelve Bells appendent to *Aaron's*
garment, * *their sound going out into all the World, and their words unto the ends of*
the Earth. But it were endless, and to very little purpose to reckon up all the con-
jectures of this nature, there being scarce any one number of Twelve mentioned in
the Scripture, which is not by some of the Ancients adapted and applied to this of the
Twelve Apostles, wherein an ordinary fancy might easily enough pick out a myste-
ry. That which seems to put in the most rational plea is, that our Lord, being now
about to form a new spiritual Common-wealth a kind of mystical *Israel*, pitched upon
this number, in conformity either to the twelve *Patriarchs* as founders of the twelve
Tribes of *Israel*, or to the twelve *πολεμάρχαι*, or *chief heads*, as standing Rulers of those
Tribes among the *Jews*, as we shall afterwards possibly more particularly * remark. * *See S. Pe-*
Thirdly, these Apostles were immediately called and sent by *Christ* himself, elected *ter's Life,*
out of the Body of his Disciples and followers, and receiv'd their Commission from *Sect. 3 Num.*
his own mouth. Indeed *Matthias* was not one of the first election, being taken in
upon *Judas* his Apostasy after our Lord's Ascension into Heaven. But besides that
he had been one of the *seventy Disciples*, called and sent out by our Saviour, that
extraordinary declaration of the Divine will and pleasure that appeared in determi-
ning his election, was in a manner equivalent to the first election. As for *S. Paul*,
he was not one of the Twelve, taken in as a supernumerary Apostle, but yet an
Apostle as well as they, and that *not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ*, as *Gal. 1. 1.*
he pleads his own cause against the insinuations of those Impostours who traduced him,
as an Apostle onely at the second had; whereas he was immediately call'd by *Christ*
as well as they, and in a more extraordinary manner; they were called by him,
while he was yet in his state of meanness and humiliation, he, when *Christ* was
now advanced upon the Throne, and appeared to him encircled with those glorious
emanati-

emanations of brightness and majesty, which he was not able to endure. I observe no more concerning this, than that an immediate call has ever been accounted so necessary to give credit and reputation to their doctrine, that the most notorious impostours have pretended to it. Thus * *Manes* the Founder of the *Manichean* Sect, was wont in his Epistles to style himself the *Apostle of Jesus Christ*; as pretending himself to be the person, whom our Lord had promis'd to send into the World, and that accordingly the Holy Ghost was actually sent in him, and therefore he constituted twelve Disciples always to attend his person, in imitation of the number of the Apostolick College. And how often the *Turkish* impostour does upon this account call himself, the *Apostle of God*, every one that has but once seen the *Alcoran*, is able to tell.

* Aug de Heres. c. 46. col. 23.

V. Fourthly, The main work and employment of these Apostles was to preach the Gospel, to establish Christianity, and to govern the Church that was to be founded as *Christ's* immediate Deputies and Vicegerents: they were to instruct men in the doctrines of the Gospel, to disciple the World, and to baptize and initiate men into the Faith of *Christ*; and to constitute and ordain Guides and Ministers of Religion, persons peculiarly set a-part for holy ministrations, to censure and punish obstinate and contumacious offenders, to compose and over-rule disorders and divisions, to command or countermand as occasion was, being vested with an extraordinary authority and power of disposing things for the edification of the Church. This Office the Apostles never exercised in its full extent and latitude during *Christ's* residence upon Earth; for though upon their election he sent them forth to Preach and to Baptize, yet this was only a narrow and temporary employment, and they quickly returned to their private stations, the main power being still executed and administered by *Christ* himself, the complete exercise whereof was not actually devolved upon them, till he was ready to leave the World: for then it was that he told them, *as my father hath sent me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Whereby he conferred in some proportion the same authority upon them, which he himself had derived from his Father. Fifthly, this Commission given to the Apostles was unlimited and universal, not only in respect of power, as enabling them to discharge all acts of

John 20. 21, 22, 23.

* Ἀρχόντες εἰσιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χειροτονούμενοι οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἀρχόντες, ὡς ἔστιν καὶ πόλεις διαφόρων λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τῷ οἴκῳ μόνον ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrysost. Serm. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἢ τῶν γενομένων ἀνδραγαθῶν. p. 115. Tom. 8. Edit. Savil.

* De prescript. Hæret. c. 20. p. 208.
|| Mark 16. 15.

Religion relating either to Ministry or Government, but in respect of place, not confining them to this or that particular Province, but leaving them the whole World as their Dioceses to preach in, they being *destinati Nationibus Magistri*, in * *Tertullian's* phrase, designed to be the Masters and Instructors of all Nations: so runs their Commission, || *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*, that is, to all men, the πᾶσι κτίσις of the Evangelist answering to the לְכָל הַבְּרִיָּה amongst the Jews, to all creatures, whereby they used to denote all men in general, but especially the Gentiles in opposition to the Jews. Indeed while our Saviour lived, the Apostolical ministry extended no farther than *Judea*; but he being gone to Heaven, the partition wall was broken down, and their way was open into all places and Countries. And herein how admirably did the *Christian* Oeconomy transcend the *Jewish*

* Ὅσοις δὲ οὐκ εἶναι διὰ θυλάκου εἰσπυγόμενον, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος δὴν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἐκπέμπειν ὥστε ἵκαν αἱ περιστάται τῶ ἰσθμῷ οἴκου μόνον φωτίζουσιν τὴν Ἰσραὴλ. οἱ δὲ Ἀπόστολοι ἅλως ἵκαν ἐκλάμπουσιν τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὅλα τὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης. Macar. Homil. 14. p. 171.

Macar. Homil. 14. p. 171.

dispensation! The Preaching of the Prophets like the * light that comes in at the window, was confin'd only to the house of *Israel*, while the doctrine of the Gospel preached by the Apostles was like the light of the Sun in the firmament, that diffused its beams, and propagated its heat and influence into all quarters of the World; *Their sound going out into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World.* It's true, for the more prudent and orderly management of things they are generally said by the Ancients to have divided the World into so many quarters and portions, to which they were severally to betake themselves; *Peter* to *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c.* *St. John* to *Asia*, *St. Andrew* to *Scythia, &c.* But they did not strictly tie themselves to those particular Provinces that were assigned to them; but as occasion was, made excursions into other parts; though for the main they had a more peculiar inspection over those parts that were allotted to them; usually reciding at some principal City of the Province, as *St. John* at *Ephesus*, *St. Philip* at *Hierapolis, &c.* whence they might have a more convenient prospect of affairs round about them, and hence it was that these places more peculiarly got the title of *Apostolical Churches*, because first planted, or eminently watered and cultivated by some Apostles, *Matrices & Originales Fidei*, as * *Tertullian* calls them, *Mother-Churches, and the Originals of the Faith*, because here the Christian doctrine

* De prescript. Hæret. c. 21. p. 209.

Strine was first sown, and hence planted and propagated to the Countries round about, *Ibid. c. 20.*
Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, à quibus traducem fidei & semina p. 208.
doctrina, cetera exinde Ecclesia mutuata sunt, as his own words are:

VI. In pursuance of this general Commission we find the Apostles not long after our Lord's Ascension traversing almost all parts of the then known World; St. Andrew in *Scythia* and those Northern Countries, St. Thomas and Bartholomew in *India*, St. Simon and St. Mark in *Africk, Egypt*, and the parts of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, St. Paul, and probably Peter and some others in the farthest Regions of the *West*: And all this done in the space of less than forty Years, viz. before the destruction of the Jewish State by Titus and the Roman Army. For so our Lord had expressly foretold, that the Gospel of the Kingdom should be preached in all the World for a witness unto all Nations, *Matth. 24. 14.* before the end came, that is, the end of the Jewish State, which the Apostles a little before had called the end of the World, *συντέλεια τῆ αἰῶνος*, the shutting up or consummation of the Age, the putting a final period to that present state and dispensation that the Jews were under. And indeed strange it is to consider, that in so few years these Evangelical Messengers should over-run all Countries; with what an incredible swiftness did the Christian Faith like lightning pierce from East to West, and diffuse it self over all quarters of the World, and that not onely unassisted by any secular advantages, but in defiance of the most fierce and potent opposition, which everywhere set it self against it? 'Tis true the impostours of *Muhammed* in a very little time gained a great part of the East. But besides that this was not comparable to the universal spreading of Christianity, his doctrine was calculated on purpose to gratify mens lusts, and especially to comply with the loose and wanton manners of the East, and, which is above all, had the sword to hew out its way before it: and we know how ready even without force in all changes and revolutions of the World the conquered have been to follow the Religion of the Conquerors. Whereas the Apostles had no visible advantages, nay, had all the enraged powers of the world to contend against them. And yet in despite of all went on in triumph, and quickly made their way into those places, where for so many Ages no other conquest ever came; those parts of Britain (as * *Tertullian* observes) which were unconquerable and unapproachable by the power of the Roman Armies, submitting their necks to the yoke of Christ. A mighty evidence (as he there argues) of Christ's Divinity, and that he was the true Messiah. And indeed no reasonable account can be given of the strange and successful progress of the Christian Religion in those first Ages of it, but that it was the birth of Heaven, and had a Divine and Invisible power going along with it to succeed and prosper it. † *St. Chrysostom* discourses this argument at large, some of whose elegant reasonings I shall here transcribe. He tells the Gentile (with whom he was disputing) that he would not prove Christ's Deity by a demonstration from Heaven, by his Creation of the World, his great and stupendous Miracles, his raising the Dead, curing the Blind, expelling Devils, nor from the mighty promises of a future state, and the resurrection of the Dead (which an Infidel might easily not onely question, but deny) but from what was sufficiently evident and obvious to the meanest Idiot, his planting and propagating Christianity in the World. For it is not (says he) in the power of a mere man, in so short a time to encircle the World, to compass Sea and Land, and in matters of so great importance to rescue mankind from the slavery of absurd and unreasonable customs, and the powerfull tyranny of evil habits: and these not Romans onely, but Persians, and the most barbarous Nations of the World. A Reformation which he wrought not by force and the power of the sword; nor by pouring into the world numerous Legions and Armies: but by a few inconsiderable men (no more at first than Eleven) a company of obscure and mean, simple and illiterate, poor and helpless, naked and unarmed Persons, who had scarce a shooe to tread on, or a coat to cover them. And yet by these he persuaded so great a part of mankind to be able freely to reason, not onely of things of the present, but of a future state; to renounce the Laws of their Country, and throw off those ancient and inveterate customs, which had taken root for so many Ages, and planted others in their room; and reduced men from those easie ways, whereinto they were hurried, into the more rugged and difficult paths of vertue. All which he did, while he had to contend with opposite powers, and when he himself had undergone the most ignominious death, even the death of the Cross. Afterwards he addresses himself to the Jew, and discourses with him much after the same rate. Consider (says * he) and bethink thy self, what it is in so short a time to fill the whole World with so many famous Churches, to convert so many Nations to the Faith, to prevail with Men to forsake the Religion of their

Verf. 3.

Adv. Jud. c. 7. p. 189.

† Lib. quod Chr. sit Deus. c. 1. Tom. 3. p. 726.

* Ibid. c. 11. p. 746.

their Country, to root up their rites and customs, to shake off the Empire of lust and pleasure, and the Laws of vice like dust; to abolish and abominate their Temples and their Altars, their Idols and their Sacrifices, their profane and impious Festivals as dirt and dung; and instead hereof to set up Christian Altars in all places, among the *Romans, Persians, Scythians, Moors and Indians*; and not there onely, but in the Countries beyond this World of ours. For even the *British Islands* that lie beyond the Ocean, and those that are in it, have felt the power of the Christian Faith; Churches and Altars being erected there to the service of *Christ*. A matter truly great and admirable, and which would clearly have demonstrated a Divine and Supereminent Power, although there had been no opposition in the case, but that all things had run on calmly and smoothly, to think that in so few years the Christian Faith; should be able to reclaim the whole World from its vicious customs, and to win them over to other manners, more laborious and difficult, repugnant both to their native inclinations, and to the Laws and Principles of their education, and such as oblig'd them to a more strict and accurate course of life; and these persons not one or two, not twenty or an hundred, but in a manner all Mankind: and this brought about by no other instruments than a few rude and unlearned, private and unknown Tradesmen, who had neither estate nor reputation, learning nor eloquence, kindred nor Country to recommend them to the World; a few Fishermen and Tent-makers, and whom distinguished by their Language as well as their Religion, the rest of the World scorn'd as barbarous. And yet these were the men, by whom our Lord built up his Church, and extended it from one end of the World unto the other. Other considerations there are with which the Father does urge and illustrate this argument, which I forbear to insist on in this place.

VII. Sixthly, The power and authority convey'd by this Commission to the Apostles, was equally conferr'd upon all of them. They were all chosen at the same time, all equally impowred to preach and Baptize, all equally intrusted with the power of binding and loosing, all invested with the same mission, and all equally furnished with the same gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost. Indeed the Advocates of the Church of *Rome* do with a mighty zeal and fierceness contend for St. *Peter's* being Head and Prince of the Apostles, advanced by *Christ* to a supremacy and prerogative not onely above, but over the rest of the Apostles; and not without reason, the fortunes of that Church being concerned in the supremacy of St. *Peter*. No wonder therefore they ransack all corners, press, and force in whatever may but seem to give countenance to it. Witness those thin and miserable shifts, which *Bellarmino* calls arguments, to prove and make it good; so utterly devoid of all rational conviction, so unable to justify themselves to sober and considering men, that a Man would think they had been contrived for no other purpose, than to cheat fools, and make wise men laugh. And the truth is, nothing with me more shakes the reputation of the wisdom of that learned man, than his making use of such weak and trifling arguments in so important and concerning an Article, so vital and essential to the constitution of that Church. As when he argues *Peter's** superiority from the mere changing of his name, (for what's this to supremacy? besides that it was not done to him alone, the same being done to *James* and *John*) from his being first reckoned up in the Catalogue of Apostles, his walking with *Christ* upon the water, his paying tribute for his Master and himself, his being commanded to let down the Net, and *Christ's* teaching in *Peter's* ship, (and this Ship must denote the Church, and *Peter's* being owner of it, entitle him to be supreme Ruler and Governour of the Church, so *Bellarmino* in terms as plain as he could well express it) from *Christ's* first washing *Peter's* feet (though the story recorded by the Evangelist says no such thing) and his foretelling onely his death: all which, and many more prerogatives of St. *Peter*, to the number of no less than XXVIII. are summoned in to give in evidence in this cause; and many of these too drawn out of Apocryphal and supposititious Authours, and not onely uncertain, but absurd and fabulous, and yet upon such arguments as these do they found his paramount authority. A plain evidence of a desperate and sinking cause, when such twigs must be laid hold on to support and keep it above water. Had they suffered *Peter* to be content with a primacy of Order (which his age and gravity seemed to challenge for him) no wise and peaceable man would have denied it, as being a thing ordinarily practised among equals, and necessary to the well governing a society: but when nothing but a primacy of Power will serve the turn, as if the rest of the Apostles had been inferior to him, this may by no means be granted, as being expressly contrary to the positive determination of our Saviour, when the Apostles were contending

* De Rom.
Pontif. lib. 1.
c. 17, 18. &
seq.

contending about this very thing, which of them should be accounted the greatest, he thus quickly decides the case, *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them. But ye shall not be so: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant.* Than which nothing could have been more peremptorily spoken, to rebuke this naughty spirit of preheminance. Nor do we ever find S. Peter himself laying claim to any such power, or the Apostles giving him the least shadow of it. In the whole course of his affairs there are no intimations of this matter; in his Epistle he styles himself but their fellow-Presbyters, and expressly forbids the Governours of the Church to *Lord it over God's heritage*. When dispatched by the rest of the Apostles upon a message to *Samaria*, he never disputes their authority to do it; when accused by them for going in unto the *Gentiles*, does he stand upon his prerogative? no, but submissively apologizes for himself; nay, when smartly reproved by S. Paul at *Antioch* (when, if ever, his credit lay at stake) do we find him excepting against it as an affront to his supremacy, and a sawcy controlling his superiour? surely the quite contrary; he quietly submitted to the reproof, as one that was sensible how justly he had deserved it. Nor can it be supposed but that S. Paul would have carried it towards him with a greater reverence, had any such peculiar sovereignty been then known to the World. How confidently does S. Paul assert himself to be no whit *inferiour to the chiefest Apostles*, not to Peter himself? *the Gospel of the uncircumcision being committed to him, as that of the circumcision was to Peter*. Is Peter oft named first among the Apostles? elsewhere others, sometimes James, sometimes Paul and Apollos, are placed before him. Did Christ honour him with some singular commendations? an honourable *elogium* conveys no super-eminent power and sovereignty. Was he dear to Christ? We know another, that was the *beloved Disciple*. So little warrant is there to exalt one above the rest, where Christ made all alike. (u) If from Scripture we descend to the ancient Writers of the Church; we shall find that though the Fathers bestow very great and honourable Titles upon Peter; yet they give the same, or what are equivalent, to others of the Apostles. * *Hesychius* styles S. James the Great, the Brother of our Lord, the Commander of the new Jerusalem, the Prince of Priests, the Exarch or chief of the Apostles, *ἐν κεφαλῇς κορυφῶν*, the top or crown amongst the heads, the great light amongst the Lamps, the most illustrious and resplendent amongst the stars: 'twas Peter that Preach'd, but 'twas James that made the determination, &c. Of S. Andrew he gives this encomium, (y) that he was the sacerdotal Trumpet, the first-born of the Apostolical Chaire, *πρωτοπαῖς ἡ ἐκκλησίας σάλου*, the prime and firm pillar of the Church, Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the first fruits of the beginning. Peter and John are said to be *ἰσότητι ἀλλήλοις*, equally honourable, by S. Cyril (z) with his whole Synod of Alexandria. S. John (says (a) Chrysostom) was Christ's beloved, the Pillar of all the Churches in the World, who had the Keys of Heaven, drank of the Lord's cup, was wash'd with his Baptism, and with confidence lay in his bosom. And of (b) S. Paul he tells us that he was the most excellent of all men, the Teacher of the World, the Bridegroom of Christ, the Planter of the Church, the wise Master-builder, greater than the Apostles, and much more to the same purpose. Elsewhere he says, (c) that the care of the whole World was committed to him, that nothing could be more noble or illustrious: yea, that (his Miracles considered) he was more excellent than Kings themselves. And a little after (d) he calls him the tongue of the Earth, the light of the Churches, *ἡ διὰ μέλιον ἡ πίστεως, ἡ σάλου ἡ ἰδρυμα ἡ ἀληθείας*, the foundation of the faith, the pillar and ground of truth. And in a discourse on purpose, wherein he compares Peter and Paul together, he makes them of equal esteem and vertue (e) *ἢ Πέτρον μείζον; ἢ ἢ Παύλου ἰσόν;* What greater than Peter? What equal to Paul? a Blessed pair! *ἡ μεμισυδεῖσαι ὕλην τῆς κόσμου τοῖς ψυχαῖς*, who had the Souls of the whole World committed to their charge. But instances of this nature were endless and infinite. If the Fathers at any time style Peter, Prince of the Apostles, they mean no more by it, than the best and purest Latine Writers mean by *princeps*, the first or chief person of the number, more considerable than the rest, either for his age or zeal. Thus (f) *Eusebius* tells us, Peter was *ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀποστόλων*, the prolocutour of all the rest *ἀπετὸς ἑνὸς*, for the greatest and generosity of his mind, that is, in (g) Chrysostome's language, he was the mouth and chief of the Apostles, *ὁ εὐλαχὺς διηγεῖς*, because eager and forward at every turn, and ready to answer those questions which were put to others. In short, as he had no Prerogative above the rest, besides his being the Chair-man and President of the Assembly, so was it granted to him upon no other considerations, that those of his age, zeal and gravity, for which he was more eminent than the rest.

Matth. 20. 25,
26, 27.
Luke 22. 24,
25, 26.

21. 21. 1101

21. 21. 1101

(u) Hoc erant
utique & cate-
ri Apostoli,
quod fuit Pe-
trus, pari con-
sortio pradi-
ti & honoris &
potestatis. Cy-
prius. de Uni-
tat. Eccles.
p. 180.

* Orat. in S.
Jac. apud Phot.
Cod. cclxxv.
col. 1525.

(y) Encom. S.
Thom. ibid
Cod. cclxix.
col. 1488.

(z) In Conc.
Ephes. Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 209.

(a) Prolog. in
Joan. p. 2.

(b) De Pet. fil.
Zeb. p. 378.

Tom. 1.

(c) In illud sal.
Aquil. &

Prisc. p. 218.

Tom. 3. 120A

(d) Ibid. p. 221.

(e) Serm. in

Peter & Paul.

Tom. 6.

(f) H. Eccl.

1. 2. c. 14. p. 52.

(g) In Matth.

c. 16. p. 483.

VIII. We proceed next to enquire into the fitness and qualification of the Persons commissioned for this employment; and we shall find them admirably qualified to discharge it, if we consider this following account. First, They immediately received the doctrine of the Gospel from the mouth of *Christ* himself; he intended them for *Legati à latere*, his peculiar Embassadors to the World, and therefore furnished them with instructions from his own mouth; and in order hereunto he train'd them up for some years under his own Discipline and institution; he made them to understand the *mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven*, when to others it was not given; treated them with the affection of a Father, and the freedom and familiarity of a friend.

Joh. 15. 15. *Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doth; but I have called you friends: for all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.* They heard all his Sermons, were privy both to his publick and private discourses; what he preach'd abroad, he expounded to them at home: he gradually instructed them in the knowledge of Divine things, and imparted to them the notions and mysteries of the Gospel, not all at once, but as they were able to bear them. By which means they were sufficiently capable of giving a satisfactory account of that Doctrine to others, which had been so immediately, so frequently communicated to themselves. Secondly, They were infallibly secured from error in delivering the Doctrines and Principles of Christianity: for though they were not absolutely privileg'd from failures and miscarriages in their lives, (these being of more personal and private consideration) yet were they infallible in their Doctrine, this being a matter whereupon the salvation and eternal interests of men did depend. And for this

Joh. 16. 13. *end they had the spirit of truth promised to them, who should guide them into all truth.* Under the conduct of this unerring Guide they all steer'd the same course, taught and spake the same things, though at different times, and in distant places: and for what was consign'd to writing, *all Scripture was given by inspiration of God, and the holy men spake not, but as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* Hence that exact and admirable harmony that is in all their writings and relations, as being all equally dictated by the same Spirit of truth. Thirdly, They had been eye witnesses of all the material passages of our Saviour's life, continually conversant with him from the commencing of his publick ministry, till his ascension into Heaven; they had survey'd all his actions, seen all his miracles, observed the whole method of his conversation, and some of them attended him in his most private solitudes and retirements. And this could not but be a very rational satisfaction to the minds of men, when the publishers of the Gospel solemnly declared to the World, that they reported nothing concerning our Saviour, but what they had seen with their own eyes, and of the truth whereof they were as competent Judges, as the acutest Philosopher in the World. Nor could there be any just reason to suspect that they impos'd upon men in what they delivered; for besides their naked plainness and simplicity in all other passages of their lives, they cheerfully submitted to the most exquisite hardships, tortures and sufferings, merely to attest the truth of what they published to the World. Next to the evidence of our own senses, no testimony is more valid and forcible, than his who relates what himself has seen. Upon this account our Lord told his Apostles,

Acts 1. 8. *that they should be witnesses to him both in Judea and Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the Earth.* And so necessary a qualification of an Apostle was this thought to be, that it was almost the only condition propounded in the choice of a new Apostle after the fall of Judas: *Wherefore (says Peter) of these men which have accompanied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptism of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a Witness with us of his resurrection.* Accordingly we find the Apostles constantly making use of this argument as the most rational evidence to convince those whom they had to deal with. *We are witnesses of all things which Jesus did both in the Land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem, whom they slew and hanged on a tree: Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses, chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead; And he commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify that it is he that is ordained of God to be Judge of the quick and dead.* Thus S. John after the same way of arguing appeals to sensible Demonstration, *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have look'd upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life: (For the life was manifested, and we have seen it and bear witness, and shew unto you that Eternal Life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us) That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that*

ye also may have fellowship with us. This, to name no more, S. Peter thought a sufficient vindication of the Apostolical doctrine from the suspicion of forgery and imposture, *We have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty.* 2 Pet. i. 16, 17. God had frequently given testimony to the divinity of our blessed Saviour, by visible manifestations and appearances from Heaven, and particularly by an audible voice; *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.* Now *this Voice which came from Heaven* (says he) *we heard, when we were with him in the holy Mount.*

IX. Fourthly The Apostles were invested with a power of working Miracles, as the readiest means to procure their Religion a firm belief and entertainment in the minds of Men. For Miracles are the great confirmation of the truth of any doctrine; and the most rational evidence of a divine commission. For seeing God onely can create, and controll the Laws of nature, produce something out of nothing, and call things that are not, as if they were, give eyes to them that were born blind, raise the dead, &c. things plainly beyond all possible powers of nature; no man that believes the wisdom and goodness of an infinite being, can suppose that this God of truth should affix his seal to a lye, or communicate this power to any that would abuse it, to confirm and countenance delusions and impostures. Nicodemus his reasoning was very plain and convictive, when he concludes that *Christ must needs be a Teacher come from God, for that no man could doe those Miracles that he did, except God were with him.* The force of which argument lies here, that nothing but a Divine power can work Miracles, and that Almighty God cannot be supposed miraculously to assist any but those, whom he himself sends upon his own errand. The stupid and barbarous *Lycaonians*, when they beheld the Man who had been a Cripple from his Mother's womb, cured by S. Paul in an instant, onely with the speaking of a word, saw that there was something in it more than humane, and therefore concluded that *the Gods were come down to them in the likeness of Men.* Upon this account * Saint Paul reckons Miracles among the *σημεία καὶ τὰ ἐνδείγματα* *τῆς ἀποστόλης*, the signs and evidences of an Apostle, whom therefore (b) Chrysostom brings in elegantly

pleading for himself, that though he could not shew as the signs of his Priesthood and Ministry, long Robes, and gaudy Vestments, with Bells sounding at their borders, as the Aaronical Priests did of old; though he had no golden Crowns or holy Miters, yet could he produce what was infinitely more venerable and regardable than all these, unquestionable Signs and Miracles: He came not with Altars and Oblations, with a number of strange and symbolical Rites; but what was greater, raised the dead, cast out Devils, cured the blind, healed the lame, *making the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, through many signs and wonders wrought by the power of the spirit of God.* These were the things that clearly shewed that their mission and ministry was not from men, nor taken up of their own heads, but that they acted herein by a Divine warrant and authority. That therefore it might plainly appear to the World, that they did not falsify in what they said, or deliver any more than God had given them in commission, he enabled them to doe strange and miraculous operations, *bearing them witness both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost.* This was a power put into the first draught of their commission, when confined onely to the Cities of Israel; as ye go, preach, saying, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand; Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out Devils, freely ye have received, freely give:* 8. but more fully confirmed upon them, when our Lord went to Heaven, then he told, them, that *these signs should follow them that believe, that in his Name they should cast out Devils, and speak with new tongues; that they should take up serpents, and if they drank any deadly thing, it should not hurt them; that they should lay hands on the sick and they should recover:* And the event was accordingly, for they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. When Paul and Barnabas came up to the Council at Jerusalem, this was one of the first things they give an account of, *all the multitude keeping silence while they declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.* Thus the very shadow of Peter as he passed by cured the sick: thus God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs, or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out

(b) Τῆς ἱερωσύνης μὴ τῆς τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας, ἔχω πολλὰ διδάσκει τὰ περικείμενα, ἢ ποδῶν καὶ καδονας, καὶ δάπεδοι παλαῖοι, ἢ δὲ ὑπερῶν, καὶ κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ φεικόμενα τῶν σημείων καὶ θαύματων --- εἶδες πῶς ταῦτα οὗτοι παλαῖον θαύμασόν τε καὶ φεικόμενα; ἢ δύσας, ἢ προσφορὰς, τὰ σύμβολα; ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ [ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ θαύματων] ταῦτα λέγει, τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τὴν πειρασμίας φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν ἴδρυσιν, καὶ τὴν πολιτίαν ἐκδηλοῦν, τὰς χάριτας τὰς ἐκτελεστέας, τὰς δαίμονας τὰς ἐλαυνόμενας, τὰς διεσπασμένους τὰς τυφλὰς, τὰς πιδόντας χυλὰς, τὰ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐκτελεστέων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἐν ἡμῖν. Chrysost. Homil. 29. in Rom. pag. 302, 303.

Heb. 2. 4.

Matth. 10. 7,

Mark 16, 17,

18--20000

Act. 15. 12.

Act. 19. 11,

12. 11. 7000

13. 15. 00

out of them. So that besides the innate characters of Divinity which the Christian Religion brought along with it, containing nothing but what was highly reasonable, and very becoming God to reveal; it had the highest external evidence that any Religion was capable of, the attestation of great and unquestionable Miracles, done not once or twice, not privately and in corners, not before a few simple and credulous persons, but frequently and at every turn, publickly and in places of the most solemn concourse, before the wisest and most judicious enquirers, and this power of Miracles continued not onely during the Apostles time, but for some Ages after.

X. But because besides Miracles in general, the Scripture takes particular notice of many gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost conferred upon the Apostles and first Preachers of the Gospel, it may not be amiss to consider some of the chiefest and most material of them, as we find them enumerated by the Apostle, onely premising this observation, that though these gifts were distinctly distributed to persons of an inferior order, so that one had this, and another that, yet were they (probably) all conferr'd upon the Apostles, and doubtless in larger proportions than upon the rest. First, we take notice of the *gift of Prophecy*, a clear evidence of Divine Inspiration, and an extraordinary Mission, *the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of Prophecy*. It had been for many Ages the signal and honourable privilege of the Jewish Church, and that the Christian Oeconomy might challenge as sacred regards from men, and that it might appear that God had not withdrawn his Spirit from his Church in this new state of things, it was revived under the dispensation of the Gospel, according to that famous Prophecy of Joel exactly accomplished (as Peter told the Jews) upon the day of Pentecost, when the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost were so plentifully shed upon the Apostles and Primitive Christians; *This is that which was spoken by the Prophet Joel, It shall come to pass in the last days, (saith God) I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie, and your young Men shall see Visions, and your old Men shall dream Dreams; and on my Servants, and on my Hand-maidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesie.* It lay in general in revealing and making known to others the mind of God, but discovered it self in particular instances; partly in foretelling things to come, and what should certainly happen in after-times: a thing set beyond the reach of any finite understanding; for though such effects as depend upon natural agents, or moral and political causes, may be foreseen by studious and considering persons, yet the knowledge of futurities, things purely contingent, that merely depend upon mens choice, and their mutable and uncertain wills, can only fall under his view, who at once beholds things past, present, and to come. Now this was conferred upon the Apostles and some of the first Christians, as appears from many instances in the History of the Apostolick Acts, and we find the Apostles Writings frequently interspersed with prophetic predictions concerning the great apostasie from the faith, the universal corruption and degeneracy of manners, the rise of particular heresies, the coming of Antichrist, and several other things which the spirit said expressly should come to pass in the latter times; besides that S. John's whole Book of Revelation is almost intirely made up of Prophecies concerning the future state and condition of the Church. Sometimes by this spirit of prophecy God declared things that were of present concernment to the exigences of the Church, as when he signified to them that they should set apart Paul and Barnabas for the conversion of the Gentiles, and many times immediately designed particular persons to be Pastours and Governours of the Church. Thus we read of the gift that was given to Timothy by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, that is, his Ordination, to which he was particularly pointed out by some prophetick designation. But the main use of this prophetick gift in those times was to explain some of the more difficult and particular parts of the Christian Doctrine, especially to expound and apply the ancient Prophecies concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom in their publick Assemblies; whence the gift of prophecy is explained by understanding all mysteries, and all knowledge, that is, the most dark and difficult places of Scripture, the types and figures, the ceremonies and prophecies of the Old Testament. And thus we are commonly to understand those words, *Prophets and prophesying*, that so familiarly occur in the new Testament. *Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesie according to the proportion of faith; that is, expound Scripture according to the generally received principles of Faith and Life.* So the Apostle elsewhere prescribing Rules for the decent and orderly managing of Divine Worship in their publick Assemblies, let the Prophets (says he) speak two or three (that is, at the same Assembly) and let the other

other judge; and if while any is thus expounding, another has a Divine *afflatus*, whereby he is more particularly enabled to explain some difficult and emergent passage, *let the first hold his peace: for ye may all, all that have this gift, prophesie one by one*, that so thus orderly proceeding, *all may learn, and all may be comforted*. Nor can the first pretend that this interruption is an unseasonable check to his revelation, seeing he may command himself; for though among the *Gentiles* the prophetick and ecstatic impulse did so violently press upon the inspired Person, that he could not govern himself, yet in the Church of God *the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets*, may be so ruled and restrained by them, as to make way for others. This order of Christian Prophets considered as a distinct Ministry by it self is constantly placed next to the Apostolical Office, and is frequently by *S. Paul* preferred before any other spiritual Gifts then bestowed upon the Church. When this spirit of Prophecy ceased in the *Christian Church*, we cannot certainly find. It continued some competent time beyond the *Apostolick Age*. (i) *Justin Martyr* expressly tells *Trypho* (1) *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.* the Jew, *Παρά ἡμῶν καὶ μέγας οὖν προσφώνων λαλῶμεθα ἑστί, the gifts of Prophecy are even yet extant among us*; an argument, as he there tells him, that those things which had of old been the great Privileges of their Church, were now translated into the *Christian Church*. And (k) *Eusebius* speaking of a Revelation made to one *Alcibiades*, who lived about the time of *Irenaeus*, adds, that the Divine Grace had not withdrawn its Presence from the Church, but that they still had the Holy Ghost as their Counsellor to direct them. (k) *H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 168.*

XI. Secondly, They had *the gift of discerning spirits*, whereby they were enabled to discover the truth or falshood of mens pretences, whether their gifts were real or counterfeit, and their persons truly inspired or not. For many men, acted only by diabolical Impulses, might entitle themselves to Divine Inspirations, and others might be imposed upon by their delusions, and mistake their dreams and fancies for the Spirit's dictates and revelations; or might so subtilly and artificially counterfeit Revelations, that they might with most pass for current, especially in those times when these supernatural gifts were so common and ordinary; and our Lord himself had frequently told them that *false Prophets would arise*, and that many would confidently plead for themselves before him, that they had *prophesied in his name*. That therefore the Church might not be imposed upon, God was pleased to endue the Apostles, and it may be some others, with an immediate faculty of discerning the Chaff from the Wheat, true from false Prophets; nay, to know when the true Prophets delivered the revelations of the Spirit, and when they expressed only their own conceptions. This was a mighty privilege, but yet seems to me to have extended farther, to judge of the sincerity or hypocrisy of mens hearts in the profession of Religion, that so bad men being discovered, suitable censures and punishments might be passed upon them, and others cautioned to avoid them. Thus *Peter* at first sight discovered *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and the rotten hypocrisy of their intentions, before there was any external evidence in the case; and told *Simon Magus*, though baptized before upon his embracing Christianity, that *his heart was not right in the sight of God, for I perceive* (says he) *that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity*. Thirdly, the Apostles had the *gift of Tongues*, furnished with variety of utterance, able to speak on a sudden several Languages which they had never learnt, as occasion was administered, and the exigencies of Persons and Nations with whom they conversed, did require. For the Apostles being principally designed to convert the World, and to plant Christianity in all Countries and Nations; it was absolutely necessary that they should be able readily to express their minds in the Languages of those Countries to which they addressed themselves: seeing otherwise it would have been a work of time and difficulty, and not consistent with the term of the Apostles lives, had they been first to learn the different Languages of those Nations, before they could have preached the Gospel to them. Hence this gift was diffused upon the Apostles in larger measures and proportions than upon other men; *I speak with Tongues more than ye all*, 1 Cor. 14. 18: says *S. Paul*; that is, than all the gifted persons in the Church of *Corinth*. Our Lord had told the Apostles before his departure from them, that they should be endued with power from on high, which upon the day of *Pentecost* was particularly made good in this instance, when in a moment they were enabled to speak almost all the Languages of the then known World, and this as a specimen and first-fruits of the rest of those miraculous powers that were conferr'd upon them.

XII. A fourth gift was that of *Interpretation*, or unfolding to others what had been delivered in an unknown tongue. For the Christian Assemblies in those days were frequently

1 Cor. 14.

Vers. 9.

Vers. 27, 28.

Jam. 5. 14, 15, 16.

* Ad Scapul. c. 4 p. 71.

1 Cor. 12. 10.

frequently made up of men of different Nations, and who could not understand what the Apostles or others had spoken to the Congregation; this God supplied by this gift of interpretation, enabling some to interpret what others did not understand, and to speak it to them in their own native Language. S. Paul largely discourses the necessity of this gift in order to the instructing and edifying of the Church, seeing without it their meetings could be no better than the Assembly of *Babel* after the confusion of Languages, where one man must needs be a *Barbarian* to another, and all the praying and preaching of the Minister of the Assembly be to many altogether fruitless and unprofitable, and no better than a *speaking into the Air*. What's the speaking, though with the *tongue of Angels*, to them that do not understand it? How can the *Idiot and unlearned say Amen*, who understands not the Language of him that giveth thanks? The duty may be done with admirable quaintness and accuracy, but what's he the better, from whom 'tis lock'd up in an unknown tongue? A consideration that made the Apostle solemnly profess, that *he had rather speak five words in the Church with his understanding, than by his voice he might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue*. Therefore if any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be but by two, or at most by three, and let one interpret what the rest have spoken: but if there be no interpreter, none present able to do this, let him keep silence in the Church, and speak to himself and to God. A man that impartially reads this discourse of the Apostle, may wonder how the Church of Rome in defiance of it can so openly practise, so confidently defend their Bible and Divine Services in an unknown tongue, so flatly repugnant to the dictates of common reason, the usage of the first Christian Church, and these plain Apostolical commands. But this is not the only instance wherein that Church has departed both from Scripture, Reason, and the practice of the first and purest Ages of Christianity. Indeed there is some cause why they are so zealous to keep both Scripture and their Divine Worship in a strange Language, lest by reading the one the People should become wise enough to discover the gross errors and corruptions of the other. Fifthly, the Apostles had the *gift of Healing*, of curing Diseases without the arts of Physick; the most inveterate distempers being equally removable by an Almighty power, and vanishing at their speaking of a word. This begot an extraordinary veneration for them and their Religion among the common sort of men, who, as they are strongest moved with sensible effects, so are most taken with those miracles that are beneficial to the life of man. Hence the infinite Cures done in every place, God mercifully providing that the Body should partake with the Soul in the advantages of the Gospel, the cure of the one ushering in many times the conversion of the other. This gift was very common in those early days, bestowed not upon the Apostles only, but the ordinary Governours of the Church, who were wont to lay their hands upon the sick, and sometimes to anoint them with Oil (a symbolick rite in use among the Jews, to denote the grace of God) and to pray over, and for them in the name of the Lord Jesus, whereby, upon a hearty confession and forsaking of their sins, both health and pardon were at once bestowed upon them. How long this gift with its appendant ceremony of *Unction* lasted in the Church, is not easy to determine; that it was in use in * *Tertullian's* time, we learn from the instance he gives us of *Proculus* a Christian, who cured the Emperour *Severus*, by anointing him with Oil; for which the Emperour had him in great honour, and kept him with him at Court all his life; it afterwards vanishing by degrees, as all other miraculous powers, as Christianity gain'd firm footing in the world. As for *Extream Unction*, so generally maintained and practised in the Church of Rome, nay, and by them made a *Sacrament*, I doubt it will receive very little countenance from this Primitive usage: Indeed could they as easily restore sick men to health, as they can anoint them with Oil, I think no body would contradict them; but till they can pretend to the one, I think it unreasonable they should use the other. The best is, though founding it upon this Apostolical practice, they have turn'd it to a quite contrary purpose, instead of recovering men to life and health, to dispose and fit them for dying, when all hopes of life are taken from them.

XIII. Sixthly, The Apostles were invested with a power of immediately inflicting corporal punishments upon great and notorious sinners; and this probably is that which he means by his *ἐνεργημάτων δυνάμεις*, operations of powers, or working miracles, which surely cannot be meant of miracles in general, being reckoned up amongst the particular gifts of the Holy Ghost, nor is there any other to which it can with equal probability refer. A power to inflict diseases upon the body, as when S. Paul struck *Elymas* the Sorcerer with blindness, and sometimes extending to the loss of life it self, as in

in the sad instance of *Ananias and Saphira*. This was the *Virga Apostolica*, the Rod (mentioned by *S. Paul*) which the Apostles held and shak'd over scandalous and insolent offenders; and sometimes laid upon them: *What will ye? shall I come to you with a rod? or in love, and the spirit of meekness?* Where, observe (says * *Chrysostom*) how the Apostle tempers his discourse; the love and meekness, and his desire to know, argued care and kindness; but the rod spake dread and terrour: a Rod of severity and punishment, and which sometimes mortally chastised the offender. Else where he frequently gives intimations of this power, when he has to deal with stubborn and incorrigible persons; *Having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled; for though I should boast something more of our authority (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction) I should not be ashamed; that I may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters.* And he again puts them in mind of it at the close of his Epistle, *I told you before, and foretell you as if I were present the second time, and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all others, that if I come again I will not spare.* But he hop'd these smart warnings would supersede all farther severity against them; *Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification and not to destruction.* Of this nature was the delivering over persons unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, the chastising the body by some present pain or sickness, that the spirit might be saved by being brought to a seasonable repentance. Thus he dealt with *Hymeneus and Alexander*, who had made shipwreck of Faith and a good Conscience, he delivered them unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme. Nothing being more usual in those times than for persons excommunicate, and cut off from the body of the Church, to be presently arrested by Satan, as the common Serjeant and Executioner, and by him either actually possessed, or tormented in their bodies by some diseases which he brought upon them: And indeed this severe discipline was no more than necessary in those times, when Christianity was wholly destitute of any civil or coercive power, to beget and keep up a due reverence and regard to the sentence and determinations of the Church, and to secure the Laws of Religion, and the holy censures from being slighted by every bold and contumacious offender. And this effect we find it had after the dreadful instance of *Ananias and Saphira*, *Great fear came upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things.* To what has been said concerning these Apostolical gifts, let me farther observe. That they had not only these gifts residing in themselves, but a power to bestow them upon others, so that by imposition of hands, or upon hearing and embracing the Apostles doctrine, and being baptized into the Christian Faith, they could conferr these miraculous Powers upon persons thus qualified to receive them, whereby they were in a moment enabled to speak divers Languages, to Prophecie, to Interpret, and do other miracles to the admiration and astonishment of all that heard and saw them. A privilege peculiar to the Apostles; for we do not find that any inferior Order of gifted persons were intrusted with it. And therefore as * *Chrysostom* well observes, though *Philip the Deacon* wrought great miracles at *Samaria*, to the conversion of many, yea, to the conviction of *Simon Magus* himself, yet the Holy Ghost fell upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus: till Peter and John came down to them, who having prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost, they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost. Which when the Magician beheld, he offered the Apostles money to enable him, that on whomsoever he laid his hands, he might derive these miraculous powers upon them.

—XIV. Having seen how fitly furnished the Apostles were for the execution of their Office, let us in the last place enquire into its duration and continuance. And here it must be considered, that in the Apostolical Office there was something extraordinary, and something ordinary. What was extraordinary was their immediate Commission derived from the mouth of *Christ* himself, their unlimited charge to preach the Gospel up and down the World, without being tied to any particular places; the super natural and miraculous powers conferr'd upon them as Apostles; their infallible guidance in delivering the Doctrines of the Gospel; and these all expired and determined

* Πάλυ καὶ τὸ φοβερὸν ἔχει ὁ λόγος τούτου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι γινώσκουσι, ἔτι ὑπεραλωρότερον τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν δόξαν; ἐν ῥα ῥαδὶ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς; ὅτι δὲ διδασκαλικὸν λαλοῦν ἀναλαβόντων δὲ τὸν λόγον, καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀναλαβόντων. Τί ὅτι, ἐν ῥαδὶ; ἐν κολάσει, ἐν τιμωρίᾳ, τυτμήν, ἀνάλω, πηρώσει; ὅπως δὲ τὸ Σαπφίρας καὶ Πέτρος ἐποίησαν. ὅπως αὐτοὺς ὅτι ἑλθόμεν σὺ μάλιν. *Chrysost. Homil. 14. in 1. ad Corinth. p. 444. vid. Hieron. in loc. Tom. 9. p. 305.*

* 2 Cor. 10. 6, 8, 9. Chap. 13. 2. Verse 10.

1 Cor. 3. 5. vid. *Chrysost. 7. c. Hieron. in loc. 1 Tim 1. 20.*

* Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ λαβόντες; πνεῦμα δὲ μόν βαπτισθέντες; ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντες [φίλιππον] χάρισμα πνεύματος ὅτι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἵν' ἡ δὲ καὶ βαπτιστὴν πνεῦμα τοῖς βαπτιστέουσιν ἐκ ἐξουσίας γὰρ ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν τούτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων ὅτι δὴ δὴκα ἡν δὴναμιν μὲν ἔλαβον [οἱ δὲ δόκοντες] ποιεῖν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καὶ πνεῦμα δὴ δὴναμιν ἐπέκειντο ἀπὸ τούτου ἡν ὅτι ἀποστόλων ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν κορυφαίαν ἐκ ἀλλῶν τινος, ὅτι ἡ δὴ τούτο ποιεῖν. *Chrys. Homil. 18. in Act. App. p. 580.*

mined with their persons. The standing and perpetual part of it was to teach and instruct the People in the duties and principles of Religion, to administer the Sacraments, to constitute Guides and Officers, and to exercise the discipline and government of the Church: and in these they are succeeded by the ordinary Rulers and Ecclesiastick Guides, who were to superintend and discharge the affairs and offices of the Church, to the end of the World. Whence it is that Bishops and Governours came to be styled Apostles, as being their Successours in ordinary; for so they frequently are in the Writings of the Church. Thus *Timothy*, who was *Bishop of Ephesus*, is called an (a) *Apostle*; *Clemens of Rome*, *Clemens the* (b) *Apostle*; *S. Mark Bishop of Alexandria*, by (c) *Eusebius* styled both an *Apostle* and *Evangelist*; *Ignatius*, a Bishop and (d) *Apostle*. A title that continued in After-ages, especially given to those that were the first planters or restorers of Christianity in any Country. In the *Coptic Kalendar*, published by (e) *Mr. Selden*, the VIIth. day of the month *Baschnes*, answering to our Second of May, is dedicated to the memory of *S. Athanasius the Apostle*. *Acacius* and *Paulus* in their (f) Letter to *Epiphanius*, style him *τον Ἀποστόλον καὶ κήρυκα*, a new *Apostle* and preacher: and (g) *Sidonius Apollinaris* writing to *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* in France, speaks of the honour due to his eminent *Apostleship*. An observation which it were easie enough to confirm by abundant instances, were it either doubtful in it self, or necessary to my purpose; but being neither, I forbear.

(a) Philostorg. H. Ecc. l. 3. c. 2. p. 24.
(b) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 4. p. 516.
(c) H. Ecc. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 66.
(d) Chrysost. Encom. S. Ig. nat. p. 499.
(e) De Synedr. lib. 3. c. 15. p. 398.
(f) Prefix. Oper. de Hares. p. 1.
(g) Lib. 6. Ep. 4. p. 147. vid. Ep. 7. p. 150.

Joan. Euchait. *Metropolitae ἱερόμνημα εἰς τὰς Ἀποστόλους*. p. 70.

Σταυροῖ Πέτρον κύμβαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέων.

Ῥώμῃ ἔχει θήκηοντα καὶ Παῦλον βλέπει.

Εἰρηναῖο τέθνηκε Λαχός ἐν τέλει.

Ζωὴς ὕπνον πρέτανι ἱεροῖ Ματθαῖο.

Μάρκον θανατοῖ δὴμοι Ἀλεξανδρείαν.

Καὶ μὴ θανῶν Ζῆ, καὶ θανῶν Ἰωάννης.

Σταυροῖ τε τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὁμοῦς ἄνδρες.

Νεκροῖ λυγχαῖ καὶ Θωμᾶν ἐν Ἰνδία.

Βαρδολομαῖο σταυροῖ θήκηον πάδει.

Καὶ ὁ Σίμων σταυροῖ ἐξάγει βίαι.

Μάχαρχα τέμνει τὰς Ἰακώβου δρόμους.

Ἰσὺν Πέτρον δίδωσι Φίλιππο μέγαν.

THE LIFE OF S. PETER.



He was crucified at Rome with his head downwards, and Buried in the Vatican there. S. Hierom. after he had planted a Christian Church at Antioch and afterwards at Rome. Page. 226.

S. Peter's Martyrdom.



John. 13. Verily verily I say unto thee when thou wast young thou girdedst thy self & walkedst whither thou wouldest but when thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy hands & another shall gird thee & carry thee whither thou wouldest. This spoke he signifying a breath of death he should glorify God.

SECT. I. Of S. PETER, from his Birth till his First coming to Christ.

Bethsaida S. Peter's Birth-place: Its dignity of old, and fate at this day. The time of his Birth enquired into. Some Errours noted concerning it. His names; Cephas, the imposing of it notes no Superiority over the rest of the Apostles. The Custom of Popes assuming a new Name at their Election to the Papacy, whence. His kindred and relations; whether He or Andrew the elder Brother. His Trade and way of life what, before his coming to Christ. The Sea of Galilee, and the conveniency of it. The meanness and obscurity of his Trade. The remarkable appearances of the Divine Providence in propagating Christianity in the World by mean and unlikely Instruments.

THE Land of Palestine was, at and before the coming of our Blessed Saviour, distinguished into three several Provinces, Judaea, Samaria and Galilee. This last was divided into the Upper, and the Lower. In the Upper, called also Galilee of the Gentiles, within the division anciently belonging to the Tribe of Naphtali, stood Bethsaida, formerly an obscure and inconsiderable Village, till lately re-edified and enlarged by Philip the Tetrarch, by him advanced to the place and title of

Joseph. Antiqu. Judaic. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 618. Mauch. 11. 21.

of a City, replenished with Inhabitants, and fortified with power and strength, and in honour of *Julia*, the daughter of *Augustus Caesar*, by him styled *Julias*. Situate it was upon the banks of the Sea of *Galilee*, and had a Wilderness on the other side, thence called the *Desart of Bethsaida*, whither our Saviour used often to retire, the privacies and solitudes of the place advantageously ministering to Divine Contemplations. But *Bethsaida* was not so remarkable for this adjoining Wilderness, as it self was memorable for a worse sort of Barrenness, Ingratitude and Unprofitableness under the influences of *Christ's* Sermons and Miracles, thence severely upbraided by him, and threatened with one of his deepest woes; *Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida, &c.* A woe that it seems stuck close to it, for whatever it was at this time, † one who surveyed it in the last Age tells us, that it was shrunk again into a very mean and small Village, consisting onely of a few Cottages of *Moors* and wild *Arabs*; and later Travellers have since assured us, that even these are dwindled away into one poor Cottage at this day. So fatally does sin undermine the greatest, the goodliest places; so certainly does God's Word take place, and not one *Iota* either of his promises or threatnings, fall to the ground. Next to the honour that was done it by our Saviour's presence, who living most in these parts frequently resorted hither, it had nothing greater to recommend it to the notice of posterity, than that (besides some other of the Apostles) it was the Birth-place of *S. Peter*; a person how inconsiderable soever in his private fortunes, yet of great note and eminency, as one of the prime Embassadors of the Son of God, to whom both Sacred and Ecclesiastical Stories give, though not a superiority, a precedency in the College of Apostles.

Matth. 11. 21.

† J. Corovic.
Itiner. Hieroso.
lib. 3. c. 8.
p. 358.

2. THE particular time of his Birth cannot be recovered, no probable footsteps or intimations being left of it: in the general we may conclude him at least Ten years elder than his Master; his married condition, and settled course of life at his first coming to *Christ*, and that authority and respect which the gravity of his person procured him amongst the rest of the Apostles, can speak him no less: but for any thing more particular and positive in this matter, I see no reason to affirm. Indeed might we trust the account, which one (who pretends to calculate his Nativity with ostentation enough) has given of it, we are told that he was born three years before the *Blessed Virgin*, and just XVII. before the Incarnation of our Saviour. But let us view his account.

Stengel. de S. Petro cap. 1.	Nat. est An.	{ ab Orbe cond. { 4034 } { à Diluvio { 2378 } { U. C. { 734 }	Ann.	{ Oct. August. { 8 } { à 1 ^o ejus consul { 24 } { à pugna Actiac. { 12 }	Ann.	{ Herodis Reg. { 20 } { ante B. Virg. { 3 } { ante Chr. nat. { 17 }
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* Ibid. c. 49.

† Bellarm de,
Rom. Pontif.
lib. 2. c. 9.
col. 624.

When I met with such a pompous train of *Epocha's* the least I expected was truth and certainty. This computaion he grounds upon the date of *S. Peter's* death, placed (as * elsewhere he tells us) by *Bellarmino* in the LXXXVI. year of his Age; so that recounting from the year of *Christ* LXIX. when *Peter* is commonly said to have suffered, he runs up his Age to his Birth, and spreads it out into so many several dates. But alas, all is built upon a sandy bottom. For besides his mistake about the year of the World, few of his dates hold due correspondence. But the worst of it is, that after all this, † *Bellarmino* upon whose single testimony all this fine fabrick is erected) says no such thing, but onely supposes, merely for arguments-sake, that *S. Peter* might very well be LXXXVI. ('tis erroneously printed LXXVI.) years old at the time of his Martyrdom. So far will confidence, or ignorance, or both carry men aside, if it could be a mistake, and not rather a bold imposing upon the World. But of this enough, and perhaps more than it deserves.

3. BEING circumcised according to the Rites of the *Mosaick* Law, the name given him at his circumcision was *Simon* or *Symeon*, a name common amongst the *Jews*, especially in their later times. This was afterwards by our Saviour not abolished, but additioned with the title of *Cephas*, which in *Syriack* (the vulgar Language of the *Jews* at that time) signifying a *stone* or *rock*, was thence derived into the Greek, Πέτρος, and by us *Peter*: so far was * *Hesychius* out, when rendring Πέτρος by ὁ Ἐμψύων, an *Expounder* or *Interpreter*, probably deriving it from Ἐμψύ, which signifies to *explain* and *interpret*. By this new imposition our Lord seemed to denote the firmness and constancy of his Faith, and his vigorous activity in building up the Church, as a *spiritual house* upon the *true rock*, the *living and corner-stone*, chosen of God, and precious, as *S. Peter* himself expresses it. Nor can our Saviour be understood to have hereby conferred upon him any peculiar Supremacy or Sovereignty above

* Πέτρος,
Ἐμψύων, ὁ
ἐκτιθέμενος
καὶ Σίμων,
καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ
Συμεὼν ὁ
καλεῖται.
Hesych.
in voc. Πέτρος.
1 Pet. 2. 4, 5, 6.

above, much less over the rest of the Apostles; for in respect of the great trust committed to them, and there being sent to plant *Christianity* in the World, they are all equally styled *Foundations*: nor is it accountable either to Scripture, or Reason to suppose, that by this Name our Lord should design the person of *Peter* to be that very rock, upon which his Church was to be built. In a fond imitation † of this new name given to S. *Peter*, those who pretend to be his Successors in the See of *Rome*, usually lay by their own, and assume a new name upon their advancement to the Apostolick Chair, it being one of the first questions || which the Cardinals put to the new-elected Pope, by what name he will please to be called. This custom first began about the year 844, when *Peter di Bocca-Porto* (or *Swines-mouth*) being chosen Pope, changed his name into *Sergius* the Second: probably not so much to avoid the uncomeliness of his own name, as if unbecoming the dignity of his place (for this being but his Paternal name would after have been no part of his Pontifical style and title) as out of a mighty reverence to S. *Peter*, accounting himself not worthy to bear his name, though it was his own Baptismal name. Certain it is, that none of the Bishops of that See ever assumed S. *Peter's* name, and some who have had it as their *Christian* name before, have laid it aside upon their election to the Papacy. But to return to our Apostle.

4. HIS Father was *Jonah*, probably a Fisherman of *Bethsaida*, for the Sacred Story takes no farther notice of him, than by the bare mention of his Name; and I believe there had been no great danger of mistake, though * *Metaphrastes* had not told us, that it was not *Jonas* the Prophet, who came out of the Belly of the Whale. Brother he was to S. *Andrew* the Apostle, and some question there is amongst the Ancients which was the elder Brother. || *Epiphanius* (probably from some Tradition current in his time) clearly adjudges it to S. *Andrew*, herein universally followed by those of the Church of *Rome*, that the precedency given to S. *Peter* may not seem to be put upon the account of his Seniority. But to him we may oppose the authority of * S. *Chrysostom*, a Person equal both in time and credit, who expressly says, that though *Andrew* came later into life than *Peter*, yet he first brought him to the knowledge of the Gospel, which *Baronius* against all pretence of reason would understand of his entering into eternal life. Besides (a) S. *Hierom*, (b) *Cassian*, (c) *Bede*, and others are for S. *Peter* being elder Brother, expressly ascribing it to his Age, that he rather than any other, was President of the College of Apostles. However it was, it sounds not a little to the honour of their Father, (as of *Zebedee* also in the like case) that of but twelve Apostles two of his Sons were taken into the number. In his Youth he was brought up to Fishing, which we may guess to have been the staple-trade of *Bethsaida*, (which hence probably borrowed its name, signifying an house or habitation of Fishing, though others render it by Hunting, the word *ῥῆμα*, equally being either) much advantaged herein by the Neighbourhood of the Lake of *Genesareth* (on whose banks it stood) called also the Sea of *Galilee*, and the Sea of *Tiberias*, according to the mode of the Hebrew Language, wherein all greater influences of Waters are called Seas. Of this Lake the Jews have a * saying that of all the seven Seas which God created, he made choice of none but the Sea of *Genesareth*: which however intended by them, is true only in this respect, that our blessed Saviour made choice of it, to honour it with the frequency of his presence, and the power of his miraculous operations. In length it was an hundred furlongs, || and about XL. over; the Water of it pure and clear, sweet and most fit to drink; stored it was with several sorts of Fish, and those different both in kind and taste from those in other places. Here it was that *Peter* closely followed the exercise of his calling; from whence it seems he afterwards removed to *Capernaum*, (probably upon his marriage, at least frequently resided there) for there we meet with his House, and there we find him paying Tribute; an House, over which * *Nicephorus* tells us, that *Helen* the Mother of Constantine erected a beautifull Church to the honour of S. *Peter*. This place was equally advantageous for the managery of his Trade, standing upon the Influx of Jordan into the Sea of *Galilee*, and where he might as well reap the fruits of an honest and industrious diligence. A mean, I confess, it was, and a more servile course of life, as which besides the great pains and labour it required, exposed him to all the injuries of wind and weather, to the storms of the Sea, the darkness and tempestuousness of the Night, and all to make a very small return. An employment, whose restless troubles, constant hardships, frequent dangers, and amazing horrors are (for the satisfaction of the learned Reader) thus elegantly described by one, whose Poems may be justly styled *Golden verses*, receiving from the Emperour *Antonius* a piece of Gold for every Verse.

Oppian. 'Αλι-
στ. ΕΙΣΛ. ε.
non longe ab
init.

Τλησιπόνους δ' ἄλιεῦσιν ἀτέμεστοι μὲν ἄεθλοι,
'Ελπίς δ' ἐστ' αἰετὴ σαίνει φρένας ἡὺτ' ἐνείκε.
Οὐ γὰρ ἀκνήτε γαίης ὑπὲρ ἀθλεύουσιν.
'Αλλ' αἰεὶ κρυερῶ τε καὶ ἄγαστα μαρμαίνοντι
'Υδατι συμφορέονται, δὲ καὶ γαίην δὲν ἰδεῖν
Δαίμα φέροι, καὶ μὲν ὑπ' ὄμμασι πειρήσασθαι.
Δύρασι δ' ἐν βαιοῖσιν ἀελλάων διεσπώντες,
Πλαζόμενοι, καὶ θυμὸν ἐν οἰδμασιν αἰὲν ἔχοντες,
Αἰεὶ μὲν νεφέλῳ ἰοιδέα παπταίνουσιν.
Αἰεὶ δ' ἐπερμένον μελαίνοντον πόρον ἄλμης.
Οὐδὲ π' φοιταλέων ἀνέμων σκέπας, ἐδὲ τιν' ὄμβρων
'Αλκὴν ἐπὶ πύρρῳ ἄλκαρ ὁπωρεμένο φέρνται.

But meanness is no bar in God's way, the poor, if vertuous, are as dear to Heaven, as the wealthy and the honourable, equally alike to him, with whom *there is no respect of persons*. Nay, our Lord seemed to cast a peculiar honour upon this profession, when afterwards calling him and some others of the same Trade from *catching of Fish*, to be (as he told them) *Fishers of men*.

5. AND here we may justly reflect upon the wise and admirable methods of the Divine Providence, which in planting and propagating the *Christian* Religion in the World, made choice of such mean and unlikely instruments, that he should hide these things from the wise and prudent, and reveal them unto babes, men that had not been educated in the *Academy*, and the Schools of Learning, but brought up to a Trade, to *catch Fish*, and *mend nets*; most of the Apostles being taken from the meanest Trades, and all of them (S. Paul excepted) unfurnished of all arts of Learning, and the advantages of liberal and ingenuous education: and yet these were the men that were designed to run down the World, and to overturn the learning of the prudent. Certainly had humane wisdom been to manage the business, it would have taken quite other measures, and chosen out the profoundest *Rabbins*, the acuteest *Philosophers*, the smoothest Oratours, such as would have been most likely by strength of Reason and arts of Rhetorick to have triumph'd over the minds of men, to grapple with the stubbornness of the *Jews*, and baffle the finer notions and speculations of the *Greeks*. We find that those *Seets* of Philosophy that gain'd most credit in the Heathen-world, did it this way, by their eminency in some Arts and Sciences, where-

* Οὐδὲν γὰρ, οἷμαι, καλὸν ἢ μὲν δεῖν ἢ μὲν
γὰρ, ἢ μὴ σπουδαίων Προφητῶν, ἐδὲ ἐξηγητῶν
τυχὴν αἰπὸν ἢ ὅτι τὴν αὐτῶν ψυχὴν, ἢ πα-
ράγον ἀποκαθάρσει τοῖς ἀκακίοις μαθήμασιν.
Fragm. Epist. pag. 541. Tom. 1.

by they recommended themselves to the acceptance of the wiser and more ingenious part of mankind. * *Julian* the *Apostate* thinks it a reasonable exception against the *Jewish* Prophets, that they were incompetent Messengers and Interpreters of the Divine Will, because they had not their

minds cleared and purged, by passing through the *Circle* of polite Arts and Learning. Why, now this is the wonder of it, that the first Preachers of the Gospel should be such rude unlearned men, and yet so suddenly, so powerfully prevail over the learned World, and conquer so many, who had the greatest parts and abilities, and the strongest prejudices against it, to the simplicity of the Gospel. When *Celsus* ob-

* Contr. Cels.
lib. 1. p. 47,
48.

jected that the Apostles were but a company of mean and illiterate persons, sorry Mariners and Fishermen, * *Origen* quickly returns upon him with this answer, "That hence 'twas plainly evident, that they taught Christianity by a Divine power, when such persons were able with such an uncontrolled success to subdue men to the obedience of his Word; for that they had no eloquent tongues, to subtil and discursive head, none of the refin'd and rhetorical Arts of *Greece* to conquer the minds of men. For my part (*says he* || in another place) I verily believe that the Holy *Jesus* purposely made use of such Preachers of his Doctrine, that there might be no suspicion, that they came instructed with Arts of Sophistry, but that it might be clearly manifest to all the World, that there was no crafty design in it, and that they had a Divine Power going along with them, which was more efficacious, that the greatest volubility of expression, or ornaments of speech, or the artifices which were used in the *Grecian* compositions. Had it not been for this Divine

* Lib. 1. p. 6.

Power that upheld it (as he * elsewhere argues) the *Christian* Religion must needs have sunk under those weighty pressures that lay upon it, having not onely to contend with the potent opposition of the *Senate*, *Emperours*, *People*, and the whole power of the *Roman* Empire, but to conflict with those home-bred wants and necessities, wherewith its own professors were oppressed and burthened.

6. IT could not but greatly vindicate the Apostles from all suspicion of forgery and imposture in the thoughts of sober and unbiassed persons, to see their Doctrine readily entertained by men of the most discerning and inquisitive minds. Had they dealt only with the rude and the simple, the idiot and the unlearned, there might have been some pretence to suspect, that they lay in wait to deceive, and designed to impose upon the World by crafty and insinuating arts and methods. But, alas, they had other persons to deal with, men of the acutest wits, and most profound abilities, the wisest Philosophers, and most subtle disputants, able to weigh an argument with the greatest accuracy, and to decline the force of the strongest reasonings, and who had their parts edg'd with the keenest prejudices of education, and a mighty veneration for the Religion of their Country, a Religion that for so many Ages had governed the World, and taken firm possession of the minds of men. And yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages these plain men conquered the wise and the learned, and brought them over to that Doctrine that was despised and scorned, opposed and persecuted, and that had nothing but its own native excellency to recommend it. A clear evidence that there was something in it beyond the craft and power of men.

Is not this (says an elegant * Apologist, making his address to the Heathens) *enough* * Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 21.

to make you believe and entertain it, to consider that in so short a time it has diffused it self over the whole World, civilized the most barbarous Nations, softened the roughest and most intractable tempers, that the greatest Wits and Scholars, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians and Philosophers have quitted their formerly dear and beloved sentiments, and heartily embraced the Precepts and Doctrines of the Gospel? Upon this account || Theodoret does with no less truth than elegancy insult

De Curand. Grac. Affect. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 123.

and triumph over the Heathens: He tells them that whoever would be at the pains to compare the best Law-makers either amongst the Greeks or Romans, with our Fishermen and Publicans, would soon perceive what a Divine virtue and efficacy there was in them above all others, whereby they did not only conquer their neighbours, not only the Greeks and Romans, but brought over the most barbarous Nations to a compliance with the Law of the Gospel, and that not by force of Arms, not by numerous bands of Souldiers, not by methods of torture and cruelty, but by meek persuasives, and a convincing the World of the excellency and usefulness of those Laws which they propounded to them. A thing which the wisest and best men of the Heathen-world could never do, to make their *dogmata*, and institutions universally obtain; nay, that Plato himself could never by all his plausible and insinuating arts make his Laws to be entertained by his own dear Athenians. He farther shews them, that the Laws published by our Fishermen and Tent-makers could never be abolished (like those made by the best amongst them) by the policies of Caius, the power of Claudius, the cruelties of Nero, or any of the succeeding Emperours, but still they went on conquering and to conquer, and made Millions both of Men and Women willing to embrace flames, and to encounter Death in its most horrid shapes, rather than disown and forsake them: whereof he calls to witness those many Churches and Monuments every where erected to the memory of Christian Martyrs, no less to the honour than advantage of those Cities and Countries, and in some sense to all Mankind.

Ibid. p. 125.

Ibid. p. 128.

Ibid. p. 126.

Ibid. p. 135.

7. THE sum of the Discourse is, in the Apostle's words, that God chose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, the weak to confound those that are mighty, the base things of the world, things most vilified and despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are. These were the things, these the persons whom God sent upon this errand, to silence the Wise, the Scribe, and the Disputer of this World, and to make foolish the wisdom of this World. For though the Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought after Wisdom, though the preaching a crucified Saviour was a scandal to the Jews, and foolishness to the learned Gracians, yet by this foolishness of preaching God was pleased to save them that believed: and in the event made it appear that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men. That so the honour of all might intirely redound to himself; so the Apostle concludes, that no Flesh should glory in his presence, but that he that glorieth, should glory in the Lord.

1 Cor. i. 27, 28.

Verf. 22, 23, 24, 25.

Isti primi vocati sunt, ut Dominum sequerentur: pioscatores & illiterati mittuntur ad predicandum, ne fides credentium non virtute Dei, sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur. Hieron. comm. in Matth. cap. 4.

Tom. 9. p. 17.

S E C T. II.

Of S. Peter, from his first coming to *Christ*, till his being call'd to be a Disciple.

Peter, before his coming to *Christ*, a Disciple. (probably) of John the Baptist. His first approaches to *Christ*. Our Lord's communication with him. His return to his Trade. *Christ*'s entring into Peter's Ship, and preaching to the people at the Sea of Galilee. The miraculous draught of Fishes. Peter's great astonishment at this evidence of our Lord's Divinity. His call to be a Disciple. *Christ*'s return to Capernaum, and healing Peter's Mother-in-law.

THOUGH we find not whether Peter before his coming to *Christ* was engag'd in any of the particular *Sects* at this time in the Jewish Church, yet is it greatly probable, that he was one of the Disciples of John the Baptist. For first, 'tis certain that his brother Andrew was so, and we can hardly think, these two brothers should draw contrary ways, or that he who was so ready to bring his brother the early tidings of the *Messiah*, that the Sun of righteousness was already risen in those parts, should not be as solicitous to bring him under the discipline and influences of John the Baptist, the Day-star that went before him. Secondly, Peter's forwardness and curiosity at the first news of *Christ*'s appearing, to come to him, and converse with him, shew that his expectations had been awakened, and some light in this matter conveyed to him by the preaching and ministry of John, who was, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight, shewing them who it was that was coming after him.

2. HIS first acquaintance with *Christ* commenced in this manner. The Blessed *Jesus* having for thirty years passed through the solitudes of a private life, had lately been baptized in Jordan, and their publicly owned to be the Son of God by the most solemn attestations that Heaven could give him; whereupon he was immediately hurried into the Wilderness to a personal contest with the Devil for forty days together. So natural is it to the enemy of mankind to malign our happiness, and to seek to blast our joys, when we are under the highest instances of the Divine grace and favour. His enemy being conquered in three set battels, and fled, he returned hence, and came down to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing his Profelytes, and endeavouring to satisfy the Jews, who had sent to him curiously to enquire concerning this new *Messiah* that appeared among them. Upon the great testimony which the Baptist gave him, and his pointing to our Lord then passing by him; two of John's disciples who were then with him presently followed after *Christ*, one of which was Andrew, Simon's brother. It was towards Evening when they came, and therefore probably they staid with him all night, during which Andrew had opportunity to inform himself, and to satisfy his most scrupulous enquiries. Early the next morning (if not that very evening) he hastned to acquaint his brother Simon with these glad tidings. 'Tis not enough to be good and happy alone; Religion is a communicative principle, that like the circles in the water, delights to multiply it self, and to diffuse its influences round about it, and especially upon those, whom nature has placed nearest to us. He tells him, they had found the long-look'd for *Messiah*, him whom Moses and the Prophets had so signally foretold, and whom all the devout and pious of that Nation had so long expected.

John i. 37.

Ἀνδρέας τὸν
πρὸς ἑνὸς
αὐτῶν μελόντων,
καὶ μαθὼν ἀπὸ
ἐμαυτοῦ, ὅτι
συνέβη καὶ
αὐτῷ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ
ἵνα ὑπομένῃ
οἱ μὲν καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ
κοινωνήσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειρήσαι
καὶ τρέχει πρῶτος,
ματαδύων αὐτὸν ὅτι
ἀγαθόν, ὡς πεπλήγμενα.

S. Andr. in Menais Græcor. ἡμέρ. λ'. Νόμ. 6. sub. lit. α'.

Comment. de

John i. 42.

3. SIMON (one of those who look'd for the Kingdom of God, and waited for the redemption of Israel) ravished with this joyfull news, and impatient of delay, presently follows his brother to the place: whither he was no sooner come, but our Lord to give him an evidence of his Divinity, salutes him at first sight by name, tells him what, and who he was, both as to his name and kindred, what title should be given him, that he should be call'd *Cephas*, or *Peter*; a name which he afterwards actually conferr'd upon him. What passed farther between them, and whether these two brothers henceforward personally attended our Saviour's motions in the number

of

of his Disciples, the Sacred Story leaves us in the dark. It seems probable, that they stay'd with him for some time, till they were instructed in the first rudiments of his Doctrine, and by his leave departed home. For it's reasonable to suppose, that our Lord being unwilling, at this time especially, to awaken the jealousies of the State by a numerous retinue, might dismiss his Disciples for some time, and *Peter* and *Andrew* amongst the rest, who hereupon returned home, to the exercise of their calling, where he found them afterwards.

4. IT was now somewhat more than a year, since our Lord having entred upon the publick stage of action, constantly *went about doing good, healing the sick, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom*, residing usually at *Capernaum*, and the parts about it, where by the constancy of his preaching, and the reputation of his miracles, his fame spread about all those Countries; by means whereof multitudes of people from all parts flock'd to him, greedily desirous to become his Auditours. And what wonder if the parch'd and barren Earth thirsted for the showers of Heaven? It hapned that our Lord retiring out of the City, to enjoy the privacies of contemplation upon the banks of the Sea of *Galilee*, it was not long before the multitude found him out; to avoid the croud and press whereof he stept into a *Ship* or *Fisher-boat*, that lay near the shore, which belonged to *Peter* (who together with his companions after a tedious and unsuccessfull night, were gone a-shore to wash and dry their Nets. He who might have commanded, was yet pleased to intreat *Peter* (who by this time was returned into his Ship) to put a little from the Shore. Here being sate, he taught the people, who stood along upon the shore to hear him. Sermon ended, he resolved to seal up his Doctrine with a miracle, that the people might be the more effectually convinced, that *he was a Teacher come from God*. To this purpose, he bad *Simon* launch out farther, and cast his Net into the Sea: *Simon* tells him, they had don't already, that they had been fishing all the last night, but in vain; and if they could not succeed then (the most proper season for that employment) there was less hope to speed now, it being probably about Noon. But because where God commands, it is not for any to argue, but obey; at our Lord's instance he let down the Net, which immediately inclosed so great a multitude of Fishes, that the Net began to break, and they were forced to call to their partners, who were in a Ship hard by them, to come in to their assistance. A draught so great, that it loaded both their Boats, and that so full, that it endangered their sinking before they could get safe to shore: An instance, wherein our Saviour gave an ocular demonstration, that, as *Messiah*, God had put all things under his feet, not only Fowls of the Air, but the Fish of the Sea, and whatsoever passed through the paths of the Sea.

Matth. 4. 23.

Luke 5. 11.

Psal. 8. 6, 7.
8.

5. A MAZ'D they were all at this miraculous draught of Fishes, whereupon *Simon* in an ecstasie of admiration, and a mixture of humility and fear, threw himself at the feet of *Christ*, and pray'd him to depart from him, as a vile and a sinfull person. So evident were the appearances of Divinity in this miracle, that he was over-powered and dazled with its brightness and lustre, and reflecting upon himself, could not but think himself unworthy the presence of so great a person, so immediately sent from God; and considering his own state (Conscience being hereby more sensibly awakened) was afraid that the Divine vengeance might pursue and overtake him. But our Lord to abate the edge of his fears, assures him that this miracle was not done to amaze and terrifie him, but to strengthen and confirm his Faith; that now he had nobler work and employment for him; instead of *catching Fish*, he should, by persuading men to the obedience of the Gospel, *catch the Souls of men*: And accordingly commanded him and his brother to follow him: (the same command which presently after he gave to the two Sons of *Zebedee*) The word was no sooner spoken, and they landed, but disposing their concerns in the hands of friends (as we may presume prudent and reasonable men would) they immediately left all, and followed him; and from this time *Peter* and the rest became his constant and inseparable Disciples living under the rules of his Discipline and Institutions.

6. FROM hence they returned to *Capernaum*, where our Lord entring into *Simon's* house (the place in all likelihood where he was wont to lodge during his residence in that City) found his *Mother-in-law* visited with a violent Fever. No privileges afford an exemption from the ordinary Laws of humane Nature; *Christ* under her roof did not protect this Woman from the assaults and invasions of a Fever. Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick, as they said concerning *Lazarus*. Here a fresh opportunity offered it self to *Christ* of exerting his Divine Power. No sooner was he told of it, but he came to her bed-side, rebuked the *Paroxysms*, commanded the

Matth. 8. 14.

Mark 1. 29.

Luke 4. 38.

Joh. 11. 3.

the Fever to be gone, and taking her by the hand to lift her up, in a moment restored her to perfect health, and ability to return to the business of her Family, all cures being equally easie to Omnipotence.

SECT. III.

Of S. Peter from his Election to the Apostolate, till the Confession which he made of *Christ*.

The Election of the Apostles; and our Lord's solemn preparation for it. The powers and Commission given to them. Why Twelve chosen. Peter the first in order, not power. The Apostles when and by whom baptized. The Tradition of Euodius, of Peter's being immediately baptized by Christ, rejected, and its authorities proved insufficient. Three of the Apostles more intimately conversant with our Saviour. Peter's being with Christ at the raising Jairus his daughter. His walking with Christ upon the Sea. The creatures at God's command act contrary to their natural Inclinations. The weakness of Peter's Faith. Christ's power in commanding down the storm, an evidence of his Divinity. Many Disciples desert our Saviour's preaching. Peter's profession of constancy in the name of the rest of the Apostles.

1. **O**UR Lord being now to elect some peculiar persons, as his immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, to whose care and trust he might commit the building up of his Church, and the planting that Religion in the World, for which he himself came down from Heaven; In order to it he privately over-night withdrew himself into a solitary Mountain (commonly called *the Mount of Christ*, from his frequent repairing thither, though some of the Ancients will have it to be Mount *Tabor*) there to make his solemn address to Heaven for a prosperous success on so great a work. Herein leaving an excellent copy and precedent to the Governours of his Church, how to proceed in setting apart persons to so weighty and difficult an employment. Upon this Mountain we may conceive there was an *Oratory* or place of Prayer (probably intimated by S. Luke's *ἡ προσευχή*, for such *Proseucha's*, or Houses of Prayer, usually uncovered, and standing in the fields, the Jews had in several places) wherein our Lord continued all night, not in one continued and intire act of devotion, but probably by intervals and repeated returns of duty.

Matth. 10. 1.
Mark 3. 14.
Luke 6. 13.

2. **E**ARLY the next morning his Disciples came to him, out of whom he made choice of Twelve to be his *Apostles*, that they might be the constant attendants upon his person, to hear his Discourses and be Eye-witnesses of his Miracles; to be always conversant with him while he was upon Earth, and afterwards to be sent abroad up and down the World, to carry on that work which he himself had begun; whom therefore he invested with the power of working Miracles, which was more completely conferr'd upon them after his Ascension into Heaven. Passing by the several fancies and conjectures of the Antients, why our Saviour pitch'd upon the just number of Twelve (whereof before) it may deserve to be considered, whether our Lord being now to appoint the supreme Officers and Governours of his Church, which the *Apostle* styles, the *Commonwealth of Israel*, might not herein have a more peculiar allusion to the twelve Patriarchs, as founders of their several Tribes, or to the constant Heads and Rulers of those twelve Tribes of which the body of the *Jewish Nation* did consist: Especially since he himself seems elsewhere to give countenance to it, when he tells the Apostles that *when the Son of man shall sit on the Throne of his Glory*, that is, be gone back to Heaven, and have taken full possession of his Evangelical Kingdom, which principally commenc'd from his Resurrection, that then *they also should sit upon Twelve Thrones, judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel*, that is, they should have great powers and authorities in the Church, such as the power of the Keys, and other Rights of Spiritual Judicature and Sovereignty, answerable in some proportion to the power and dignity which the Heads and Rulers of the twelve tribes of *Israel* did enjoy.

Ephes. 2. 12.

Math. 19. 28.

3. IN the enumeration of these twelve Apostles, all the Evangelists constantly place S. Peter in the front; and S. Matthew expressly tells us, that he was the first, Matt. 10. 2. that is, he was the first that was called to be an Apostle: his Age also and the gravity of his person more particularly qualifying him for a Primacy of Order amongst the rest of the Apostles, as that without which no society of men can be managed or maintained. Less than this, as none will deny him; so more than this, neither Scripture nor Primitive antiquity do allow him. And now it was, that our Lord actually conferr'd that name upon him, which before he had promised him. *Simon he surnamed Peter*; It may here be enquired, when, and by whom the Apostles were baptized. That they were is unquestionable, being themselves appointed to confer it upon others; but when, or how, the Scripture is altogether silent. * *Nicephorus*, from no worse an Authour, as he pretends, than *Euodius*, S. Peter's immediate successor in the See of *Antioch*, tells us, That of all the Apostles *Christ* baptized none but *Peter* with his own hands; that *Peter* baptized *Andrew*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and they the rest of the Apostles. This, if so, would greatly make for the honour of S. Peter. But alas! his authority is not only suspicious, but supposititious, in a manner deserted by S. Peter's best friends, and the strongest champions of his cause: *Baronius* himself, however sometimes † willing to make use of him, elsewhere ‖ confesseth that this Epistle of *Euodius* is altogether unknown to any of the Ancients. As for the testimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which to the same purpose he quotes out of * *Sophronius*, (though not *Sophronius*, but *Johannes Moschus*, as is notoriously known, be the Authour of that Book) besides, that it is delivered upon an uncertain report, pretended to have been alledged in a discourse between one *Dionysius* Bishop of *Ascalon* and his Clergy, out of a Book of *Clemens*, not now extant; his Authours are much alike, that is, of no great value and authority. † Ad An. 31. num. 40. * Ad An 71. num. 13. * Vid. Jos. Moschi. Prat. Spir. cap. 176. Bibl. P. Grac. L. Tom. 2. p. 1133.

4. AMONGST these Apostles, our Lord chose a Triumvirate, *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* to be his more intimate companions, whom he admitted more familiarly than the rest, unto all the more secret passages and transactions of his Life. The first instance of which was on this occasion. *Jairus*, a Ruler of the Synagogue, had a daughter desperately sick, whose disease, having baffled all the arts of Physick, was only curable by the immediate agency of the God of Nature. He therefore in all humility addresses himself to our Saviour; which he had no sooner done, but servants came post to tell him, that it was in vain to trouble our Lord, for that his daughter was dead. *Christ* bids him not despond, if his Faith held out there was no danger. And suffering none to follow him, but *Peter*, *James* and *John*, goes along with him to the house; where he was derided by the sorrowfull friends and neighbours, for telling them that she was not perfectly dead. But our Lord entering in, with the commanding efficacy of two words, restor'd her at once both to life and perfect health. Mark, 5. 22.

5. OUR Lord after this preached many Sermons, and wrought many Miracles, amongst which, none more remarkable, than his feeding a multitude of five thousand men, besides women and children, but with five Loaves and two Fishes; of which, nevertheless, twelve Baskets of fragments were taken up. Which being done, and the multitude dismissed, he commanded the Apostles to take Ship, it being now near night, and to cross over to *Capernaum*, whilst he himself, as his manner was, retired to a neighbouring mountain, to dispose himself to Prayer and Contemplation. The Apostles were scarce got into the middle of the Sea, when on a sudden a violent Storm and Tempest began to arise, whereby they were brought into present danger of their lives. Our Saviour, who knew how the case stood with them, and how much they laboured under infinite pains and fears, having himself caused this Tempest, for the greater trial of their Faith, a little before Morning (for so long they remained in this imminent danger) immediately conveyed himself upon the Sea, where the waves received him, being proud to carry their Master. He who refused to gratifie the Devils, when tempting him to throw himself down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, did here commit himself to a boisterous and instable Element, and that in a violent Storm, walking upon the water, as if it had been dry ground. But that infinite power that made and supports the World, as it gave rules to all particular beings, so can when it pleaseth countermand the Laws of their Creation, and make them act contrary to their natural inclinations. If God say the word, the Sun will stand still in the middle of the Heavens; if, Go back, 'twill retrocede, as upon the Dial of *Ahaz*: if he command it, the Heavens will become as *Brass*, and the Earth

as *Iron*, and that for three years and an half together, as in the case of *Elijah's* prayer; if he say to the Sea, Divide, 'twill run upon heaps, and become on both sides as firm as a wall of Marble. Nothing can be more natural, than for the fire to burn, and yet at God's command it will forget its nature, and become a screen and a fence to the three Children in the *Babylonian* Furnace. What heavier than *Iron*, or more natural than for gravity to tend downwards? and yet when God will have it, *Iron* shall float like *Cork* on the top of the water. The proud and raging Sea that naturally refuses to bear the bodies of men while alive, became here as firm as *Brass*, when commanded to wait upon and doe homage to the God of Nature. Our Lord walking towards the ship, as if he had an intention to pass by it, he was espied by them, who presently thought it to be the Apparition of a Spirit. Hereupon they were seiz'd with great terrour and consternation, and their fears in all likelihood heightened by the vulgar opinion, that they are evil Spirits that chuse rather to appear in the night than by day. While they were in this agony, our Lord taking compassion on them, calls to them, and bids them not be afraid, for that it was no other than he himself. *Peter* (the eagerness of whose temper carried him forward to all bold and resolute undertakings) entreated our Lord, that if it was he, he might have leave to come upon the water to him. Having received his orders, he went out of the Ship, and walked upon the Sea to meet his Master. But when he found the wind to bear hard against him, and the waves to rise round about him, whereby probably the sight of *Christ* was intercepted, he began to be afraid; and the higher his fears arose, the lower his Faith began to sink, and together with that, his body to sink under water: whereupon in a passionate fright he cried out to our Lord to help him, who, reaching out his arm, took him by the hand, and set him again upon the top of the water, with this gentle reproof, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* It being the weakness of our Faith that makes the influences of the Divine power and goodness to have no better effect upon us. Being come to the Ship, they took them in, were our Lord no sooner arrived, but the winds and waves observing their duty to their Sovereign Lord, and having done the errand which they came upon, mannerly departed, and vanished away, and the Ship in an instant was at the shore. All that were in the Ship being strangely astonished at this Miracle, and fully convinced of the Divinity of his person, came and did homage to him, with this confession, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God.* After which they went ashore, and landed in the Country of *Genesareth*, and there more fully acknowledged him before all the people.

John 6. 24.

6. THE next day, great multitudes flocking after him, he entred into a Synagogue at *Capernaum*, and taking occasion from the late Miracle of the loaves, which he had wrought amongst them, he began to discourse concerning himself, as the true *Manna*, and the Bread that came down from Heaven; largely opening to them many of the more sublime and Spiritual mysteries, and the necessary and important duties of the Gospel. Hereupon a great part of his Auditory, who had hitherto followed him, finding their understandings gravelled with these difficult and uncommon Notions, and that the duties he required were likely to grate hard upon them, and perceiving now that he was not the *Messiah* they took him for, whose Kingdom should consist in an external Grandeur and Plenty, but was to be managed and transacted in a more inward and Spiritual way; hereupon fairly left him in open field, and henceforth quite turned their backs upon him. Whereupon our Lord, turning about to his Apostles, asked them, whether they also would go away from him? *Peter* (Spokesman generally for all the rest) answered, whither should they go to mend and better their condition? should they return back to *Moses*? Alas! he laid a yoke upon them, which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear. Should they go to the Scribes and Pharisees? they would feed them with Stones instead of Bread, obtrude humane Traditions upon them for Divine dictates and Commands. Should they betake themselves to the Philosophers amongst the Gentiles? they were miserably blind and short-sighted in their Notions of things, and their sentiments and opinions not only different from, but contrary to one another. No, 'twas he onely had the words of Eternal life, whose doctrine could instruct them in the plain way to Heaven; that they had fully assented to what both *John* and he had said concerning himself, that they were fully persuaded both from the efficacy of his Sermons, which they heard, and the powerfull conviction of his Miracles, which they had seen, that he was the Son of the living God, the true *Messiah* and Saviour of the World. But notwithstanding this fair and plausible testimony, he tells them, that they were not all of this mind, that there was a *Satan* amongst them, one that was moved by the spirit and impulse, and that

wherein said first member of said tapered part is not to be found.

Of *S. Peter*, from the time of his Confession, till
our Lord's last Passover.

I. **I**T was some time since our Saviour had kept his third *Passover* at *Jerusalem*, when he directed his Journey towards *Casarea Philippi*; where by the way having like a careful Master of his Family first prayed with his *Apostles*, he began to ask them (having been more than two Years publicly conversant amongst them) what the World thought concerning him. They answered, that the Opinions of Men about him were various and different; that some took him for *John the Baptist*, lately risen from the dead, between whose Doctrine, Discipline and way of life, in the main there was so great a Correspondence. That others thought he was *Elias*; probably judging so from the gravity of his Person, freedom of his Preaching, the fame and reputation of his Miracles, especially since the Scriptures assured them he was not dead, but taken up into Heaven; and had so expressly foretold, that he should return back again. That others look'd upon him as the Prophet *Jeremiah* alive again, of whose return the *Jews* had great expectations, in so much that some of them thought the Soul of *Jeremiah* was re-inspired into *Zacharias*. Or if not thus, at least, that he was one of the more eminent of the ancient *Prophets*, or that the Souls of some of these Persons had been breathed into him; The Doctrine of the *μετεμψύχωσης*, or *Transmigration of Souls* first broached and propagated by *Pythagoras*, being at this time current amongst the *Jews*, and owned by the *Pharisees* as one of their prime Notions and Principles.

Mark 8. 27.
Matth. 16. 21.
Luke 9. 18.

* Τὸ σῶμα
ἀποστόλων ὁ
Πέτρος, ὁ πυ-
ταχὺ διεμῶς,
ὁ οὗτος χρυσὸν
ἀποστόλων κο-
ρυφαῖος, πύ-
των ἐξουσιάν-
των, αὐτοὶ ἀπο-
κρίνῃσι.
Chrysost. in
Matth. 16. p.

both of my person and my Doctrine. And because thou hast so freely made this Confession, therefore I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: That is, that as thy Name signifies a Stone or Rock, such shalt thou thy self be, firm, solid and immoveable, in building of the Church, which shall be so orderly erected by thy care and diligence, and so firmly founded upon that faith which thou hast now confessed, that all the assaults and attempts which the powers of Hell can make against it, shall not be able to overturn it. Moreover, I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven: That is, thou shalt have that spiritual authority and power within the Church, whereby as with Keys thou shalt be able to shut and lock out obstinate and impenitent sinners, and upon their repentance to unlock the door, and take them in again: And what thou shalt thus regularly doe, shall be own'd in the Court above, and ratified by God in Heaven.

3. UPON these several passages, the Champions of the Church of Rome, mainly build the unlimited Supremacy and infallibility of the Bishops of that See; with how much truth, and how little reason, it is not my present purpose to discuss. It may suffice here to remark, that though this place does very much tend to exalt the honour of S. Peter, yet is there nothing herein personal and peculiar to him alone, as distinct from, and preferred above the rest of the Apostles. Does he here make confession of Christ's being the Son of God? Yet, besides that herein he spake but the sense of all the rest, this was no more than what others had said as well as he, yea before he was so much as call'd to be a Disciple. Thus Nathanael at his first coming to Christ expressly told him, *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*. Does our Lord here style him a Rock? All the Apostles are elsewhere equally called *Foundations*, yea said to be the *Twelve Foundations upon which the Wall of the new Jerusalem*, that is, the Evangelical Church is erected; and sometimes others of them besides Peter are called *Pillars*, as they have relation to the Church already built. Does Christ here promise the *Keys* to Peter? that is, Power of Governing, and of exercising *Church-censures*, and absolving penitent sinners? The very same is elsewhere promised to all the Apostles, and almost in the very same terms and words, *If thine offending Brother, prove obstinate, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee an Heathen and a Publican*. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. And elsewhere, when ready to leave the World, he tells them, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained*. By all which it is evident, that our Lord did not here give any personal prerogative to S. Peter, as universal Pastour and head of the Christian Church, much less to those who were to be his Successors in the See of Rome; But that as he made his Confession in the name of the rest of the Apostles, so what was here promised unto him, was equally intended unto all. Nor did the more considering and judicious part of the Fathers (however giving a mighty reverence to S. Peter) ever understand it in any other sense. Sure I am that * *Origen* tells us, that every true Christian that makes this Confession with the same Spirit and Integrity which S. Peter did, shall have the same blessing and commendation from Christ conferr'd upon him.

* Comment. in
loc. Tom. 3. fol.
1. fac. 2.

4. THE Holy Jesus, knowing the time of his Passion to draw on, began to prepare the minds of his Apostles against that fatal Hour; telling them what hard and bitter things he should suffer at Jerusalem, what affronts and indignities he must undergo, and be at last put to death with all the arts of torture and disgrace, by the Decree of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Peter, whom our Lord had infinitely encouraged and endeared to him, by the great things which he had lately said concerning him, so that his spirits were now afloat, and his passions ready to over-run the banks, not able to endure a thought that so much evil should befall his Master, broke out into an over-confident and unseasonable interruption of him: *He took him and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee; Lord, this shall not be unto thee*. Besides his great kindness and affection to his Master, the minds of the Apostles were not yet thoroughly purged from the hopes and expectations of a glorious reign of the Messiah, so that Peter could not but look upon these sufferings as unbecoming and inconsistent with the state and dignity of the Son of God. And therefore thought good to advise his Lord, to take care of himself, and while there was time, to prevent and avoid them. This, our Lord, who valued the redemption of Mankind infinitely before his own ease and safety, re-

Match. 16. 21.
Mark 8. 31.
Luk. 9. 22.

resented

sented at so high a rate, that he returned upon him with this tart and stinging reproof, *Get thee behind me, Satan*; The very same treatment which he once gave to the Devil himself, when he made that insolent proposal to him, *To fall down and worship him*: though in *Satan* it was the result of pure malice and hatred; in *Peter* onely an error of love and great reward. However our Lord could not but look upon it as a mischievous and diabolical counsel, prompted and promoted by the great adversary of Mankind. Away therefore, says *Christ*, with thy hellish and pernicious counsel, *Thou art an offence unto me*, in seeking to oppose and undermine that great design, for which I purposely came down from Heaven: In this *thou savourest not the things of God, but those that be of men*, in suggesting to me those little shifts and arts of safety and self-preservation, which humane prudence, and the love of mens own selves are wont to dictate to them. By which, though we may learn *Peter's* mighty kindness to our Saviour, yet that herein he did not take his measures right. A plain evidence that his *infallibility* had not yet taken place.

5. ABOUT a week after this, our Saviour being to receive a Type and *Specimen* of his future glorification, took with him his three more intimate Apostles, *Peter*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and went up into a very high Mountain, which the Ancients generally conceive to have been Mount *Tabor*, a round and very high Mountain, situate in the Plains of *Galilee*. And now was even literally fulfilled what the *Psalmist* had spoken, *Tabor and Hermon shall rejoyce in thy Name*: for what greater joy and triumph, than to be peculiarly chosen to be the holy Mount, whereon our Lord in so eminent a manner *received from God the Father honour and glory*, and made such magnificent displays of his Divine Power and Majesty? For while they were here earnestly employed in Prayer, (as seldom did our Lord enter upon any eminent action, but he first made his address to Heaven) he was suddainly transformed into another manner of appearance; such a lustre and radiancy darted from his face, that the Sun it self shines not brighter at Noon-day; such beams of light reflected from his garments, as out-did the light it self that was round about them, so exceeding pure and white, that the Snow might blush to compare with it; nor could the *Fuller's* art purifie any thing into half that whiteness: an evident and sensible representation of the glory of that state, wherein the *just* shall walk in white, and shine as the Sun in the Kingdom of the Father. During this Heavenly scene, there appeared *Moses* and *Elias*, (who, as the *Jews* say, shall come together) cloathed with all the brightness and majesty of a glorified state, familiarly conversing with him, and discoursing of the death and sufferings which he was shortly to undergo, and his departure into Heaven. Behold here together the three greatest persons that ever were the Ministers of Heaven: *Moses*, under God, the Institutour and Promulgatour of the Law; *Elias*, the great Reformer of it, when under its deepest degeneracy and corruption; and the Blessed *Jesus*, the Son of God, who came to take away what was weak and imperfect, and to introduce a more manly and rational institution, and to communicate the last Revelation which God would make of his mind to the World. *Peter* and the two Apostles that were with him, were in the meantime fallen asleep, heavy through want of natural rest, (it being probably night when this was done) or else overpowered with these extraordinary appearances, which the frailty and weakness of their present state could not bear, were fallen into a Trance. But now awaking were strangely surpris'd to behold our Lord surrounded with so much glory, and those two great persons conversing with him, knowing who they were, probably by some particular marks and signatures that were upon them, or else by immediate revelation, or from the discourse which passed betwixt *Christ* and them, or possibly from some communication which they themselves might have with them. While these Heavenly guests were about to depart, *Peter* in a great rapture and ecstasie of mind addressed himself to our Saviour, telling him how infinitely they were pleased and delighted with their being there; and to that purpose desiring his leave, that they might erect three *Tabernacles*, one for him, one for *Moses*, and one for *Elias*. While he was thus saying, a bright cloud suddenly over-shadowed the two great Ministers, and wrapt them up: out of which came a voice, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him*: which when the *Apostles* heard, and saw the cloud coming over themselves, they were seized with a great consternation, and fell upon their faces to the ground, whom our Lord gently touched, bad them arise and disband their fears: whereupon looking up, they saw none but their Master, the rest having vanished and disappeared. In memory of these great transactions, * *Bede* tells us, that in pursuance of Saint *Peter's* petition about the three *Tabernacles*, there were afterwards three Churches

Luke 4. 8.

Matth. 17. 1.

Mark 9. 2.

Luke 9. 28.

Psalm 89. 12.

* De Loc. Sanct. c. 17.

built upon the top of this Mountain, which in after-times were had in great veneration, which might possibly give some foundation to that report which || one makes, that in his time there were shew'd the ruines of those *three Tabernacles*, which were built according to S. Peter's desire.

|| Bern. & Bridenb. *Triner. Terra Sanct. vid. J. Cotovis Itiner. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 355. Matth. 17. 24.*

6. AFTER this, our Lord and his Apostles, having travelled through *Galilee*, the gatherers of the *Tribute-money* came to Peter, and asked him, whether his Master was not obliged to pay the *Tribute*, which God, under the *Mosaick Law*, commanded to be yearly paid by every Jew above Twenty Years Old, to the use of the Temple, which so continued to the times of *Vespasian*, under whom the Temple being destroyed, it was by him transferred to the use of the *Capitol* at *Rome*, being to the value of half a *Shekel*, or Fifteen pence of our money. To this question of theirs, Peter positively answers, yes; knowing his Master would never be backward, either to give unto *Caesar* the things that are *Caesar's*, or to God the things that are *God's*. Peter going into the house to give an account to his Master, and to know his mind concerning it, *Christ* prevented him with this question, *What thinkest thou, Simon, of whom do Earthly Kings exact Tribute*, of their own Children and Family, or from other People? Peter answered, Not from their own *Servants* and Family, but from *Strangers*. To which our Lord presently replied, That then according to his own argument and opinion, both he himself, as being the *Son of God*, and they whom he had taken to be his Menial and Domestick *Servants*, were free from this Tax of Head-money, yearly to be paid to God. But rather than give offence, by seeming to despise the Temple, and to undervalue that Authority that had settled this Tribute, he resolves to put himself to the expence and charges of a Miracle, and therefore commanded Peter to go to the Sea, and take up the first *Fish* which came to his Hook, in whose mouth he should find a piece of money (a *Stater*, in value a *Shekel*, or half a *Crown*) which he took and gave to the *Collectors*, both for his Master and himself.

Matth. 18. 21.

7. OUR Lord, after this, discoursing to them, how to carry themselves towards their offending Brethren, Peter, being desirous to be more particularly informed in this matter, asked our Saviour, How oft a man was obliged to forgive his Brother, in case of offence and trespass, whether seven times were not enough? He told him, That upon his Neighbour's repentance, he was not onely bound to doe it *seven times*, but *untill seventy times seven*, that is, he must be indulgent to him, as oft as the offender returns and begs it, and heartily professes his sorrow and repentance. Which he farther illustrates by a plain and excellent Parable, and thence draws this Conclusion, That the same measures, either of *compassion* or *cruelty*, which men shew to their fellow Brethren, they themselves shall meet with at the hands of God, the Supreme Ruler and Justiciary of the World. It was not long after, when a brisk young man addressed himself to our Saviour, to know of him, by what methods he might best attain *Eternal Life*. Our Lord, to humble his confidence, bad him *sell his Estate*, and give it to the poor; and, putting himself under his discipline, he should have a much better treasure in Heaven. The man was rich, and liked not the counsel, nor was he willing to purchase happiness at such a rate; and accordingly went away under great sorrow and discontent. Upon which *Christ* takes occasion to let them know, how hardly those men would get to Heaven, who built their comfort and happiness upon the plenty and abundance of these outward things. Peter, taking hold of this opportunity, asked, What return they themselves should have, who had quitted and renounced whatever they had for his sake and service? Our Saviour answers, That no man should be a loser by his service; that, for their parts, they should be recompenced with far greater privileges; and that whoever should forsake houses or lands, kindred and relations, out of love to him and his Religion, should enjoy them again with infinite advantages in this World, if consistent with the circumstances of their state, and those troubles and persecutions which would necessarily arise from the profession of the Gospel: however, they should have what would make infinite amends for all; *Eternal Life in the other World*.

Matth. 19. 16.
Mark 10. 17.
Luke 18. 18.

8. OUR Saviour, in order to his last fatal journey to *Jerusalem*, that he might the better comply with the Prophecy that went before of him, sent two of his Apostles; who in all probability were Peter and John, with an Authoritative Commission to fetch him an *Ass* to ride on (he had none of his own; he who was rich, for our sakes made himself poor; he lived upon charity all his life, had neither an *Ass* to ride on, nor a House where to lay his head, no nor after his death a Tomb to lie in, but what the charity of others provided for him) whereon being mounted, and attended with the festivities of the people, he set forward in his journey; wherein

Matth. 21. 1.

wherein there appears an admirable mixture of humility and Majesty: The *Ass* he rode on became the *meanness* and *meekness* of a Prophet; but his arbitrary Commission for the fetching it, and the ready obedience of its owners, spake the *prerogative* of a King; the *Palms* born before him, the *Garments* strew'd in his way, and the joyful *Hosannahs* and Acclamations of the people, proclaim at once both the *Majesty* of a Prince, and the *Triumph* of a Saviour. For such expressions of joy we find were usual in publick and festival solemnities; thus the * Historian describing the Emperor *Commodus* his triumphant return to *Rome*, tells us, that the Senate and whole people of *Rome*, to testify their mighty kindness and veneration for him, came out of the City to meet him, *ἀφ' ὧν πόλεως τε καὶ πάντων ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκμολοῦντα*, carrying *Palms* and *Laurels* along with them, and throwing about all sorts of *Flowers* that were then in season. In this manner our Lord being entred the City, he soon after retired to *Bethany*, whence he dispatched *Peter* and *John*, to make preparation for the *Passover*; giving them instructions where he would have it kept. Accordingly they found the person he had described to them, whom they followed home to his house. Whether this was the house of *John* the Evangelist (as *Nicephorus* tells us) situate near Mount *Sion*, or of *Simon* the Leper, or of *Nicodemus*, or of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, as others severally conjecture; seeing none of the *Evangelists* have thought fit to tell us, it may not become us curiously to enquire.

* Herod lib.
1. in vit.
Comm. p. 17.

Matth. 26. 17.
Mark 14. 12.
Luke 22. 7.

H. Eccl. lib.
1. c. 28. p.
104.

SECT. V.

Of S. Peter, from the last Passover, till the Death of Christ.

The Passover celebrated by our Lord and his Apostles. His washing their feet. Peter's imprudent modesty. The mystery and meaning of the action. The Traitor, who. The Lord's Supper instituted. Peter's confident promise of suffering with and for Christ. Our Lord's dislike of his confidence, and foretelling his denial. Their going to the Mount of Olives. Peter renews his resolution. His indiscreet zeal and affection. Our Saviour's Passion, why begun in a Garden. The bitterness of his Antepassion. The drowsiness of Peter and the two sons of Zebedee. Our Lord's great candour towards them, and what it ought to teach us. Christ's apprehension, and Peter's bold attempt upon Malchus. Christ deserted by the Apostles. Peter's following his Master to the High-priest's Hall, and thrice denying him, with Oaths and Imprecations. The Galilæan dialect, what. The Cock-crowing, and Peter's repentance upon it.

ALL things being now prepared, our Saviour with his Apostles comes down for the celebration of the *Passover*. And being entred into the House, they all orderly took their places. Our Lord, who had always taught them by his practice, no less than by his doctrine, did now particularly design to teach them humility and charity by his own example. And that the instance might be the greater, he underwent the meanest offices of the Ministry: towards the end therefore of the *Paschal* Supper, he arose from the Table, and laying aside his upper-garment (which according to the fashion of those Eastern Countries, being long, was unfit for action) and himself taking a Towel, and pouring water into a Basin, he began to wash all the Apostles feet; not disdaining those of *Judas* himself. Coming to *Peter*, he would by no means admit an instance of so much condescension. What? the Master doe this to the Servant? the Son of God to so vile a sinner? This made him a second time refuse it, *Thou shalt never wash my feet*. But our Lord soon corrects his imprudent modesty, by telling him, That if he wash'd him not, he could have no part with him: Insinuating the mystery of this action, which was to denote Remission of sin, and the purifying virtue of the Spirit of Christ to be poured upon all true Christians. *Peter*, satisfied with the answer, soon altered his resolution, Lord, not my feet onely, but also my hands and my head. If the case be so, let me be wash'd all over, rather than

John 13. 4.

Εἰ πόδας ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς
 ἡγνήτοι καὶ ἀναξίτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 Ἀνθρώπων ὄφειμι εἶναι μίμημα μακάριον
 ὡς αὐτοὶ ἀλλήλων φίλους πόδας ὑδάτι νίψαντες
 Δείγμα ᾧ ἕπετο ὅτι διδασκαλὸν ὄφειμι καὶ ὑμεῖς
 ἔργον ὅπερ ποίησα σφόν, ποιήσῃτε καὶ αὐτοί,
 Πάντες ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀμοιβάζοντες ὡς ὁ Κύριος
 Ἰσοφύεις μίμημα δαίμωνος ἡγεμονήοντος.
 Nonn. Paraphr. in loc.

than come short of my portion in thee. This being done, he returned again to the Table, and acquainted them with the meaning and tendency of this mystical action, and what force it ought to have upon them towards one another. The Washing it self denoted their inward and spiritual cleansing by the Blood and Spirit of *Christ*, symbolically typified and represented by all the Washings and Baptisms of the *Mosaick* Institution: The washing of the feet respected our intire sanctification of our whole Spirit, Soul and Body, no part being to be left impure. And then, that all this should be done by so great a Person, their Lord and Master, preached to their very Senses a Sermon of the greatest humility and condescension, and taught them how little reason they had to boggle at the meanest offices of kindness and charity towards others, when he himself had stoop'd to so low an abasement towards them. And now he began more immediately to reflect upon his sufferings, and upon him, who was to be the occasion of them; telling them that one of them would be the *Traitour* to betray him. Whereat they were strangely troubled, and every one began to suspect himself, till *Peter* (whose love and care for his Master commonly made him start sooner than the rest) made signs to Saint *John*, who lay in our Saviour's bosom, to ask him particularly who it was? which our Saviour presently did, by making them understand, that it was *Judas Iscariot*, who not long after left the company.

John 13. 36.
 Luke 22. 31.

2. AND now our Lord began the Institution of his *Supper*, that great solemn Institution which he was resolved to leave behind him, to be constantly celebrated in all Ages of the Church, as the standing monument of his love in dying for mankind. For now he told them, that he himself must leave them, and that *whither he went, they could not come*. *Peter*, not well understanding what he meant, asked him *whither it was that he was going?* Our Lord replied, It was to that place, *whither he could not now follow him*: but that he should do it afterwards: intimating the Martyrdom he was to undergo for the sake of *Christ*. To which *Peter* answered, that he knew no reason why he might not follow him, seeing that if it was even to the laying down of his life for his sake, he was most ready and resolved to do it. Our Lord liked not this over-confident presumption, and therefore told him, they were great things which he promised, but that he took not the true measures of his own strength, nor espied the snares and designs of *Satan*, who desired no better an occasion than this, to *sift* and *winnow* them. But that he had prayed to Heaven for him, *That his faith might not fail*: by which means being strengthened himself, he should be obliged to strengthen and confirm his brethren. And whereas he so confidently assured him, that he was ready to go along with him, not onely into *prison*, but even to *death* it self; our Lord plainly told him, That notwithstanding all his confident and generous resolutions, before *the Cock crowed twice*, that is, before three of the Clock in the morning, he would that very night three several times deny his Master. With which answer our Lord wisely rebuked his confidence and taught him (had he understood the lesson) not to trust to his own strength, but intirely to depend upon him, who is able to keep us from falling. Withal insinuating, that though by his sin he would justly forfeit the Divine grace and favour, yet upon his repentance he should be restored to the honour of the Apostolate, as a certain evidence of the Divine goodness and indulgence to him.

Διὰ τὴν ὅτι πίν-
 τας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
 νω τῷ Πέτρῳ
 λέγει, Σίμων,
 Σίμων, ἰδὲ ὁ
 Σατανᾶς ἡπύ-
 σατο ὑμᾶς σι-
 νᾶσαι; ἵνα
 παιδεύσῃ αὐ-
 τὸν μὴ ἑαυτῷ
 διαρρεῖν μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς παρ'
 αὐτοῦ χάρις-
 μασι συμμευ-
 εῖται. — τὸ ὅτι τρεῖς ἑτάροις αὐτοῦ, τρεῖς, ὡς εἰρηγματοῦ καὶ διδασκαλίου καὶ διὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς ἡμῶν· καὶ ὅτι δι' ἀποστο-
 λείῃ, φησὶν, ἀρρησάμενος με, ὅς ἀποστολικὴ χάρισμαί, ὅπως ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης τελευ-
 εῖον. Tit. Bostr. Com. in Luc. 22. in Bibl. Pp. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 829.

3. HAVING sung an *Hymn*, and concluded the whole affair, he left the house where all these things had been transacted, and went with his *Apostles* unto the *Mount of Olives*: where he again put them in mind how much they would be *offen- ded* at those things which he was now to suffer; and *Peter* again renewed his resolute and undaunted promise of suffering, and dying with him; yea, out of an excessive confidence told him, That *though all the rest should forsake and deny him, yet would not he deny him*. How far will zeal and an indiscreet affection transport even a good man into vanity and presumption! *Peter* questions others but never doubts himself. So natural is self-love, so apt are we to take the fairest measures of our selves. Nay, though our Lord had but a little before, once and again reproved this vain humour, yet does he still, not only persist, but grow up in it. So hardly are we brought to espy

espy our own faults, or to be so thoroughly convinced of them, as to correct and reform them. This confidence of his inspired all the rest with a mighty courage, all the Apostles likewise assuring him of their constant and unshaken adhering to him. Our Lord returning the same answer to *Peter* which he had done before. From hence they went down into the Village of *Gethsemane*, where leaving the rest of the Apostles, he, accompanied with none but *Peter*, *James* and *John*, retired into a neighbouring Garden, (whither, * *Eusebius* tells us, Christians even in his time were wont to come solemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven, and where, as the || *Arabian Geographer* informs us, a fair and stately Church was built to the honour of the *Virgin Mary*) to enter upon the Ante-scene of the fatal Tragedy that was now approaching; it bearing a very fit proportion (as some of the * *Fathers* have observed) that as the *first Adam* fell and ruin'd mankind in a *Garden*, so a *Garden* should be the place where the *second Adam* should begin his *Passion*, in order to the Redemption of the World. Gardens, which to us are places of repose and pleasure, and scenes of divertisement and delight, were to our Lord a School of Temptation, a Theatre of great horrors and sufferings, and the first approaches of the hour of darkness.

* *De loc. Hebr.*
in *voc. Tēsan-*
μαρῶν, p. 134.
|| *Geogr. Nub.*
Clim. 3. part.
5. p. 114.
* *Cyril. Com-*
ment. in Joan.
18. Tom. 4.
Theophylact.
in *Joan. 18.*

4. HERE it was that the Blessed *Jesus* laboured under the bitterest *Agony* that could fall upon humane Nature, which the holy Story describes by words sufficiently expressive of the highest grief and sorrow, he was afraid, sorrowfull and very heavy, yea, his Soul was *μελυνόμενος*, exceeding sorrowfull, and that even unto death, he was sore amazed, and very heavy, he was troubled, *ἐταράχθη*, his Soul was shaken with a vehement commotion; yea, he was in an *Agony*, a word by which the *Greeks* were wont to represent the greatest conflicts and anxieties. The effect of all which was, that he prayed more earnestly, offering up prayers and supplications with strong cries and tears, as the Apostle expounds it, and sweat, as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground. What this bloody sweat was, and how far natural or extraordinary, I am not now concerned to enquire. Certain it is, it was a plain evidence of the most intense grief and sadness: for if an extream fear or trouble will many times cast us into a cold sweat, how great must be the commotion and conflict of our Saviour's mind, which could force open the pores of his body, lock'd up by the coldness of the night, and make not drops of sweat, but great drops, or (as the word *σέβουλοι* signifies) clods of blood to issue from them? While our Lord was thus contending with these Ante-Passions, the three Apostles, whom he had left at some distance from him, being tired out with watching, and disposed by the silence of the Night, were fallen fast asleep. Our Lord, who had made three several addresses unto Heaven, that, if it might consist with his Father's will, this bitter *Cup* might pass from him, expressing herein the harmless and innocent desires of humane Nature, which always studies its own preservation) between each of them came to visit the Apostles, and calling to *Peter*, asked him, *Whether they could not watch with him one hour?* advising them to watch and pray, that they entered not into temptation, adding this Argument, That the spirit indeed was willing, but that the flesh was weak, and that therefore there was the more need that they should stand upon their guard. Observe here the incomparable sweetness, the generous candour of our blessed Saviour, to pass so charitable a censure upon an action, from whence malice and ill-nature might have drawn monsters and prodigies, and have represented it black as the shades of darkness. The request which our Lord made to these Apostles, was infinitely reasonable, to watch with him in his bitter *Agony*, their company at least being some refreshment to one, under such sad fatal circumstances; and this but for a little time, one hour, it would soon be over, and then they might freely consult their own ease and safety: 'Twas their dear Lord and Master whom they now were to attend upon, ready to lay down his life for them, sweating already under the first skirmishes of his sufferings, and expecting every moment when all the powers of darkness would fall upon him. But all these considerations were drown'd in a profound security, the men were fast asleep, and though often awakened and told of it, regarded it not, as if nothing but ease and softness had been then to be dream'd of. An Action that look'd like the most prodigious ingratitude, and the highest unconcernedness for their Lord and Master, and which one would have thought had argued a very great coldness and indifferency of affection towards him. But he would not set it upon the Tenters, nor stretch it to what it might easily have been drawn to: he imputes it not to their unthankfulness, or want of affection, nor to their carelessness of what became of him, but merely to their infirmity and the

the weakness of their bodily temper, himself making the excuse, when they should make none for themselves, *the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.* Hereby teaching us, to put the most candid and favourable construction upon those actions of others, which are capable of various interpretations, and rather with the Bee to suck honey, than with the Spider to draw poison from them. His last Prayer being ended, he came to them, and told them with a gentle rebuke, That now they might sleep on if they pleased, that *the hour was at hand, that he should be betrayed, and delivered into the hands of men.*

5. WHILE he was thus discoursing to them, a Band of Souldiers sent from the High-priests, with the Traitor Judas to conduct and direct them, rush'd into the Garden, and seized upon him: which when the Apostles saw, they asked him whether they should attempt his rescue. Peter (whose ungovernable zeal put him upon all dangerous undertakings) without staying for an answer drew his Sword, and espying one more busie than the rest in laying hold upon our Saviour, which was Malchus (who, though carrying Kingship, in his name, was but Servant to the High-priest) struck at him, with an intention to dispatch him: but God over-ruling the stroak, it only cut off his right ear. Our Lord liked not this wild and unwarrantable zeal, and therefore intreated their patience, whilst he miraculously healed the Wound. And turning to Peter, bad him put up his Sword again; told him, that they who unwarrantably used the Sword, should themselves perish by it; that there was no need of these violent and extravagant courses; that if he had a mind to be rid of his Keepers, he could ask his Father, who would presently send more than twelve Legions of Angels to his rescue and deliverance: But he must drink the Cup which his Father had put into his hand: for how else should the Scriptures be fulfilled, which had expressly foretold, *That these things must be?* Whereupon, all the Apostles forsook him, and fled from him; and they who before in their promises were as bold as Lions, now it came to it, like fearfull and timorous Hares, ran away from him: Peter and John, though staying last with him, yet followed the same way with the rest, preferring their own safety before the concerns of their Master.

Matth. 26. 57.
Mark 14. 53.
Luke 22. 54.
John 18. 12.

6. No sooner was he apprehended by the Souldiers, and brought out of the Garden, but he was immediately posted from one Tribunal to another, brought first to Annas, then carried to Caiaphas, where the Jewish Sanhedrim met together in order to his Trial and Condemnation. Peter having a little recovered himself, and gotten loose from his fears, probably encouraged by his Companion S. John, returns back to seek his Master: And finding them leading him to the High-priest's Hall, followed afar off, to see what would be the event and issue. But coming to the Door, could get no admittance, till one of the Disciples who was acquainted there, went out and persuaded the Servant, who kept the Door, to let him in. Being let into the Hall, where the Servants and Officers stood round the Fire, Peter also came thither to warm himself, where being espied by the Servant-maid that let him in, she, earnestly looking upon him, charged him with being one of Christ's Disciples; which Peter publicly denied before all the Company, positively affirming, that *he knew him not*; And presently withdrew himself into the Porch, where he heard the Cock crow: An intimation, which one would have thought should have awakened his Conscience into a quick sense of his Duty, and the promise he had made unto his Master. In the Porch, another of the Maids set upon him, charging him that *he also was one of them that had been with Jesus of Nazareth*: which Peter stoutly denied, saying, that *he knew not Christ*; and the better to gain their belief to what he said, ratified it with an Oath. So natural is it for one sin to draw on another.

7. ABOUT an hour after, he was a third time set upon, by a Servant of the High-priest, Malchus his Kinsman, whose Ear Peter had lately cut off: By him he was charged to be one of Christ's Disciples; Yea, that *his very speech betrayed him to be a Galilean.* For the Galileans, though they did not speak a different language, had yet a different dialect, using a more confused and barbarous, a broader and more unpolished way of pronunciation than the rest of the Jews; whereby they were easily distinguishable in their speaking from other men: abundant instances whereof there are extant in the Talmud at this day. Nay, not only gave this evidence, but added, that he himself had seen him with Jesus in the Garden. Peter still resolutely denied the matter, and to add the highest accomplishment to his sin, ratified it not only with an Oath, but a solemn Curse and Execration, that *he was not the person, that he knew not the man.* 'Tis but a very weak excuse, which S. Ambrose and some others make for this Act of Peter's, in saying, *I know not the Man.* He did well (says he)

to deny him to be Man *, whom he knew to be God. || S. Hierom takes notice of this pious and well-meant excuse made for Peter, though out of modesty he conceals the name of its Authour, but yet justly censures it as trifling and frivolous, and which to excuse Man from folly, would charge God with falshood: for if he did not deny him, then our Lord was out, when he said, that, *that Night he should thrice deny him*, that is, his Person, and not only his humanity. Certainly the best Apology that can be made for Peter is, that he quickly repented of this great sin; for no sooner had he done it, but the Cock crew again; at which intimation our Saviour turn'd about, and earnestly looked upon him: a glance that quickly pierced him to the Heart, and brought to his remembrance, what our Lord had once and again foretold of him, how foully and shamefully he should deny him: whereupon not being able to contain his sorrow, he ran out of Doors to give it vent, and wept bitterly, passionately bewailing his folly, and the aggravations of his sin; thereby endeavouring to make some reparation for his fault, and recover himself into the favour of Heaven, and to prevent the execution of Divine Justice, by taking a severe revenge upon himself: by these penitential tears he endeavoured to wash off his guilt; as indeed Repentance is the next step to Innocence.

* Bene negavit hominem, quem sciebat Deum. Ambr. in Luc. 22. Tom. 5. p. 157. vid. Hil. comment. in Matth. 328. || Hier. in Mat. 26. p. 81. Tom. 9. vid. August. in Joan. Tract. lxvi. col. 417. Tom. 9.

SECT. VI.

Of S. Peter, from Christ's Resurrection, till his Ascension.

Our Lord's care to acquaint Peter with his Resurrection. His going to the Sepulchre. Christ's appearance to Peter, when, and the Reasons of it: The Apostles Journey into Galilee: Christ's appearing to them at the Sea of Tiberias; His being discovered by the great draught of Fishes. Christ's questioning Peter's love, and why. Feed my Sheep, commended to Peter, imports no peculiar supereminent power and sovereignty. Peter's death and sufferings foretold. Our Lord takes his last leave of the Apostles at Bethany. His Ascension into Heaven. The Chapel of the Ascension. The Apostles joy at their Lord's Exaltation.

1. **WHAT** became of Peter after his late Prevarication, whether he followed our Saviour through the several stages of his Trial, and Personally attended as a Mourner at the Funerals of his Master, we have no account left upon Record. No doubt he stayed at Jerusalem, and probably with S. John, together with whom we first find him mentioned, when both setting forwards to the Sepulchre; which was in this manner. Early on that Morning, whereon our Lord was to return from the Grave, Mary Magdalen, and some other devout and pious Women brought Spices and Ointments, with a design to embalm the Body of our crucified Lord. Coming to the Sepulchre at Sun-rising, and finding the Door open, they entred in, where they were suddenly saluted by an Angel, who told them, that Jesus was risen, and bad them go and acquaint his Apostles, and particularly Peter, that he was returned from the dead; and that he would go before them into Galilee, where they should meet with him. Hereupon they returned back, and acquainted the Apostles with what had passed, who beheld the story as the product of a weak frightened fancy. But Peter and John presently hastened towards the Garden; John, being the younger and nimbler, out-ran his Companion, and came first thither, where he only looked, but entred not in, either out of fear in himself, or a great Reverence to our Saviour. Peter though behind in space, was before in zeal, and being elder and more considerate, came and resolute entred in, where they found nothing but the Linen Cloths lying together in one place, and the Napkin that was about his Head wrapped together in another; which being disposed with so much care and order shewed (what was falsely suggested by the Jews) that our Saviour's Body was not taken away by Thieves, who are wont more to consult their escape, than how to leave things orderly disposed behind them.

2. **THE** same Day about Noon we may suppose it was, that our Lord himself appeared alone to Peter; being assured of the thing, though not so precisely of the time,

1 Cor. 15. 5.
Luke 24. 34.

time. That he did so, *S. Paul* expressly tells us; and so did the Apostles to the two Disciples that came from *Emmaus*, *The Lord is risen, and hath appeared unto Simon*: which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to those two Disciples. And indeed we cannot but think that our Lord would hasten the manifestation of himself to him, as compassionating his case, being overwhelmed with sorrow for the late shamefull denial of his Master: and was therefore willing in the first place to honour him with his presence, at once to confirm him in the Article of his Resurrection, and to let him see, that he was restored to the place which before he had in his grace and favour. *S. Paul* mentioning his several appearances after his Resurrection, seems to make this the first of them, *That he was seen of Cephas*. Not that it was simply the first, for he first appeared to the *Women*. But as * *Chrysostom* observes, it was the first, that was made to *Men*. He was first *seen* by him who most desired to *see* him. He also adds several probable conjectures, why our Lord first discovered himself to *Peter*: As, that it required a more than ordinary firmness and resolution of mind, to be able to bear such a sight: For they who beheld him after others had seen him, and had heard their frequent Testimonies and Reports: had had their Faith greatly prepared and encouraged to entertain it; But he who was to be honoured with the first appearance had need of a bigger, and more undaunted Faith, lest he should be overborn, *ὡς παραδόξω τ' ἰδεῖν*, with such a strange and unwonted sight: That *Peter* was the first that had made a signal confession of his Master, and therefore it was fit and reasonable, that he should first see him alive after his Resurrection: That *Peter* had lately *denied* his Lord, the grief whereof lay hard upon him, that therefore our Saviour was willing to administer some consolation to him, and as soon as might be to let him see, that he had not cast him off; like the kind *Samaritan*, he made haste to help him, and to pour Oil into his wounded Conscience.

3. **SOME** time after this, the Apostles began to resolve upon their Journey into *Galilee*, as he himself had commanded them. If it be enquired why they went no sooner, seeing this was the first message and intimation, they had received from him; || *S. Ambrose* his resolution seems very rational, that our Lord indeed had commanded them to go thither; but that their fears for some time kept them at home; not being as yet fully satisfied in the truth of his Resurrection, till our Lord by often appearing to them, had confirmed their minds, and put the case beyond all dispute. They went, as we may suppose, in several Companies, lest going all in one Body, they should awaken the power and malice of their enemies, and alarm the care and vigilancy of the State, which by reason of the Noise that our Saviour's Trial and Execution had made up and down the City and Country, was yet full of Jealousies and fears. We find *Peter, Thomas, Nathanael*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two more of the Disciples arrived at some Town about the *Sea of Tiberias*: Where, the Providence of God guiding the Instance of their employment, *Peter*, accompanied with the rest, returns to his old Trade of Fishing. They laboured all Night, but caught nothing. Early in the Morning a grave Person, probably in the habit of a Traveller, presents himself upon the shore: And calling to them, asked them whether they had any meat: When they told him, No: He advised them to cast the Net on the right side of the Ship, that so the Miracle might not seem to be the effect of chance, and they should not fail to speed. They did so, and the Net presently inclosed so great a draught, that they were scarce able to drag it a shore. *S. John* amazed with the strangeness of the matter, told *Peter* that surely this must be *the Lord*, whom the Winds and the Sea, and all the Inhabitants of that watery Region were so ready to obey. *Peter's* zeal presently took fire, notwithstanding the coldness of the

Ἡμεῖς ἀνιδουλὸν λαόντας μισροσάλο Σίμων.
 Καὶ ταχὺς εἰς ῥόον ἀλλοτὴ ἡδὰδα πόντον ἀμείβων,
 Χεῖρας ἐρετμάσας καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀλάν.
 Ποσὶν ἀμοιβαίῳσιν ὀπίσσω ἄδεν ἴδεν.
 Ἀκτῆς δ' ἐγὼς ἴκανε δευδὸν ῥόνα βαλὼν.
 Nonn. Paraphr. in loc.

4. DIN.

4. DINNER being ended, our Lord more particularly addressed himself to *Peter*; urging him to the utmost diligence in his care of Souls: and because he knew, that nothing but a mighty love to himself could carry him through the troubles and hazards of so dangerous and difficult an employment; an employment attended with all the impediments, which either the perverseness of men, or the malice and subtilty of the Devil could cast in the way to hinder it; therefore he first enquired of him, whether he loved him more than the *rest* of the Apostles, herein mildly reproving his former overconfident resolution, that *though all the rest should deny him, yet would not he deny him*. *Peter* modestly replied, not censuring others, much less preferring himself before them, that our Lord knew the integrity of his affection towards him. This Question he puts three several times to *Peter*, who as often returned the same Answer; It being but just and reasonable, that he who by a threefold denial had given so much cause to question, should now by a threefold confession *give more than ordinary assurance of his sincere affection to his Master. *Peter* was a little troubled at this frequent questioning of his love, and therefore more expressly appeals to our Lord's omniscieny, that He who knew all things, must needs know that he loved him. To each of these confessions our Lord added this signal trial of his affection; then, *Feed my sheep*, that is, faithfully instruct and teach them, carefully rule and guide them; persuade, not compell them; feed, not fleece, nor kill them. And so 'tis plain Saint *Peter* himself understood it, by the charge which he gives to the Guides and Rulers of the Church, that *they should feed the Flock of God, taking the over-sight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: Neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock*. But that *by feeding Christ's sheep and lambs*, here commended to Saint *Peter*, should be meant an universal and uncontrollable Monarchy and Dominion over the whole Christian Church, and that over the Apostles themselves and their Successors in ordinary, and this power and supremacy solely invested in S. *Peter*, and those who were to succeed him in the See of *Rome*, is so wild an inference, and such a melting down words to run into any shape, as could never with any face have been offered, or been possible to have been imposed upon the belief of mankind, if men had not first subdued their reason to their interest, and captivated both to an implicit faith and a blind obedience. For granting that our Lord here addressed his speech onely unto *Peter*, yet the very same power in equivalent terms is elsewhere indifferently granted to all the Apostles, and in some measure to the ordinary Pastours and Governours of the Church: As when our Lord told them, That *all power was given him in Heaven and in Earth*, by virtue whereof *they should go teach and baptize all Nations, and preach the Gospel to every Creature: That they should feed God's flock, Rule well, inspect and watch over those over whom they had the Authority and Rule*. Words of as large and more express signification, than those which were here spoken to S. *Peter*.

5. OUR Lord having thus engaged *Peter* to a cheerful compliance with the dangers that might attend the discharge and execution of his Office, now particularly intimates to him what that fate was that should attend him: telling him that though when he was young he girt himself, lived at his own pleasure and went whither he pleased; yet when he was old, he should stretch forth his hands, and another should gird and bind him, and lead him whither he had no mind to go: intimating, as the *Evangelist* tells us, *by what death he should glorifie God*, that is, by Crucifixion, the Martyrdom which he afterward underwent. And then rising up, commanded him to follow him; by this bodily attendance mystically implying his conformity to the death of *Christ*, that he should follow him in dying for the truth and testimony of the Gospel. It was not long after, that our Lord appeared to them to take his last farewell of them, when leading them out unto *Bethany*, a little Village upon the Mount of *Olives*, he briefly told them, That they were the persons, whom he had chosen to be the *witnesses* both of his Death and Resurrection; a testimony which they should bear to him in all parts of the World: In order to which he would after his Ascension pour out his *Spirit* upon them in larger measures than they had hitherto received, that they might be the better fortified to grapple with that violent rage and fury wherewith both Men and Devils would endeavour to oppose them; and that in the mean time they should return to *Jerusalem*, and stay till these miraculous powers were from on high conferred upon them. His discourse being ended, laying his hands upon them, he gave them his solemn blessing; which done, he was immediately taken from them, and being attended with a glorious guard and train of *Angels*, was received up into Heaven. * Antiquity tells us, that in the place where he last trod upon the rock, the

* Τὸ τεῖπλῶν
τ' ἀφ' ἡρώως
τὸ τεῖπλῶν τ'
συνκαλαδίσει-
ας ὁ ἀγαθὸς
ιατρὸς ἐξ-
εραήμισιν. Ifid.
Pelens. l. i. ep.
103. p. 27.
Redditur nega-
tioni trina tri-
na confessio, nē
minus amorī
lingua serviat
quā timorī;
& plus vocis
eliciuisse videat-
ur mors immin-
ens, quā vi-
ta praesens.
Aug. in Joan.
Traff. 123. col.
566.
I Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.

1 Acts i. 8.
Luke 24. 49.

D * Paulin Epist.
e 3. ad Sever.
lib. 2.

p. 130. Sulp.
Sever. Hist.
Sac. lib. 2.
p. 145. Hieron. de loc.
Heb. in Act.
App. p. 297.
Tom. 3.
|| J. Cotovic.
Itin. lib. 2.
c. 11. p. 271.
vid. Sands Relat.
lat. 1.3. p. 156.
Luke 24. 52.

impression of his feet did remain, which could never afterwards be filled up or impaired, over which *Helena*, Mother of the *Great Constantine*, afterwards built a little Chapel, called the *Chapel of the Ascension*; in the floor whereof, upon a whitish kind of stone, modern Travellers tell us, that the impression of his Foot is shewed at this day; but 'tis that of his right foot only, the other being taken away by the *Turks*, and, as 'tis said, kept in the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*. Our Lord being thus taken from them, the Apostles were filled with a greater sense of his glory and majesty, than while he was wont familiarly to converse with them; and having performed their solemn adorations to him, returned back to *Jerusalem*, waiting for the promise of the *Holy Ghost*, which was shortly after conferred upon them. They worshipped him, and returned to *Jerusalem* with great joy. They who lately were overwhelmed with sorrow at the very mention of their Lord's departure from them, entertained it now with joy and triumph, being fully satisfied of his glorious advancement at God's right hand, and of that particular care and providence which they were sure he would exercise towards them, in pursuance of those great trusts he had committed to them.

SECT. VII.

S. Peter's Acts, from our Lord's Ascension, till the Dispersion of the Church.

The Apostles return to Jerusalem. The ὑπερῶν, or Upper-room, where they assembled, what. Peter declares the necessity of a new Apostle's being chosen in the room of Judas. The promise of the Holy Ghost made upon the day of Pentecost. The Spirit descended in the likeness of fiery cloven tongues, and why. The greatness of the Miracle. Peter's vindication of the Apostles from the slanders of the Jews, and proving Christ to be the promised Messiah. Great numbers converted by his Sermon. His going up to the Temple. What their stated hours of Prayer. His curing the impotent Cripple there, and discourse to the Jews upon it. What numbers converted by him. Peter and John seized, and cast into prison. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and their resolute carriage there. Their refusing to obey, when commanded not to preach Christ. The great security the Christian Religion provides for subjection to Magistrates in all lawful instances of obedience. The severity used by Peter towards Ananias and Sapphira. The great Miracles wrought by him. Again cast into prison, and delivered by an Angel. Their appearing before the Sanhedrim; and deliverance, by the prudent counsels of Gamaliel.

1. **T**HE Holy Jesus being gone to Heaven, the Apostles began to act according to the Power and Commission he had left with them. In order whereunto, the first thing they did after his Ascension, was to fill up the vacancy in their College, lately made by the unhappy fall and Apostasy of Judas. To which end no sooner were they returned to *Jerusalem*, but they went εἰς ὑπερῶν, into an upper-room. Where this ὑπερῶν was, whether in the house of S. John, or of Mary John-Mark's Mother, or in some of the out-rooms belonging to the Temple, (for the Temple had over the Cloisters several Chambers for the service of the Priests and Levites, and as Repositories, where the consecrated Vessels and Utensils of the Temple were laid up, though it be not probable, that the Jews, and especially the Priests would suffer the Apostles and their company to be so near the Temple) I stand not to enquire. 'Tis certain that the Jews usually had their ὑπερῶν, private Oratories, in the upper parts of their houses, called עליות, for the more private exercises of their devotions. Thus Daniel had his עליות, his upper-Chamber, (τὸ ὑπερῶν the LXX. render it) whither he was wont to retire to pray to his God: and * Benjamin the Jew tells us, that in his time (*Ann. Christ.* 1172.) the Jews at *Babylon* were wont to pray both in their Synagogues, ועליות דניאל, and in that ancient upper-room of Daniel, which the Prophet himself built. Such an ὑπερῶν, or upper-Chamber, was that wherein S. Paul preached at *Troas*: and such probably this, where the Apostles were now met together, and in all likelihood the same, where our Lord had lately kept the Passover, where

Dan. 6. 20.
* Benj. Itin.
p. 76.

Acts 20. 8.

where the Apostles and the Church were assembled on the day of *Pentecost*, and which was then the usual place of their Religious Assemblies, as we have elsewhere observed more at * large. Here the Church being met to the number of about CXX, *Peter*, * *Prim. Christ.* as President of the Assembly, began to speak, and, applying himself to the whole Con- *Part 1. Ch. 6.* gregation, proposed to them the choice of a new Apostle. And 'tis the remark which *p. 126.*

|| *S. Chrysostom* makes upon this passage, that *Peter* herein would do nothing with- *Homil. 3. in* out the common consent and approbation, *ὡδὲ ἀνὰ συνέλευσιν, ὡδὲ ἀποχρῶς*, assuming no *Act. p. 28.* peculiar supereminent power and authority to himself. He put them in mind, that *Acts 1. 15.*

Judas, one of our Lord's Apostles, being betrayed by his own covetous and insatiable mind, had lately fallen from the honour of his place and ministry: that this was no more than what the Prophet had long since foretold should come to pass, and that the rule and over-sight in the Church, which had been committed unto him, should be devolved upon another: that therefore it was highly necessary, that one should be substituted in his room, and especially such a one as had been familiarly conversant with our Saviour, from first to last, that so he might be a competent witness both of his doctrine and miracles, his life and death, but especially of his Resurrection from the dead. For seeing no evidence is so valid and satisfactory, as the testimony of an eye-witness, the Apostles all along mainly insisted upon this, that they delivered no other things concerning our Saviour to the World, than what they themselves had seen and heard. And seeing this rising from the Dead was a principle likely to meet with a great deal of opposition, and which would hardliest gain belief and entertainment with the minds of men, therefore they principally urg'd this at every turn, that *they were eye witnesses of his Resurrection*, that they had seen, felt, eaten and familiarly conversed with him after his return from the Grave. That therefore such an Apostle might be chosen, two Candidates were proposed, *Joseph*, called *Barsabas*, and *Matthias*. And having prayed that the Divine Providence would immediately guide and direct the choice, they cast lots, and the lot fell upon *Matthias*, who was accordingly admitted into the number of the twelve Apostles.

2. FIFTY days since the last *Passover* being now run out, made way for the *Feast of Pentecost*. At what time the great promise of the *Holy Ghost* was fully made good unto them. The Christian Assembly being met together, for the publick services of their Worship, on a sudden a sound like that of a mighty wind, rush'd in upon them; representing the powerful efficacy of that Divine Spirit, that was now to be communicated to them: After which there appeared little flames of fire, which, in the fashion of Cloven Tongues, not onely descended, but sate upon each of them, probably to note their perpetual enjoyment of this gift upon all occasions, that when necessary, they should never be without it; not like the Prophetick gifts of old, which were conferred but sparingly, and only at some particular times and seasons. As the *seventy Elders prophesied and ceased not*, but it was onely at such times as the *Spirit came down and rested upon them*. Hereupon they were all immediately filled with the *Holy Ghost*, which enabled them in an instant to speak several Languages, which they had never learn'd, and probably never heard of, together with other miraculous gifts and powers. Thus as the confounding of Languages became a curse to the old World, separating men from all mutual offices of kindness and commerce, rendering one part of Mankind Barbarians to another: so here, the multiplying several Languages became a blessing, being intended as the means to bring men of all Nations into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, into the fellowship of that Religion, that would banish discords, cement differences, and unite men's hearts in the bond of Peace. The report of so sudden and strange an action presently spread it self into all corners of the City, and there being at that time at *Jerusalem* multitudes of Jewish Proselytes, Devout men out of every Nation under Heaven, *Parthians, Medes, Elamites (or Persians,) the dwellers in Mesopotamia and Judaea, Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia minor, from Phrygia and Pamphylia, from Egypt and the parts of Libya and Cyrene, from Rome, from Crete, from Arabia, Jews and Proselytes* (probably drawn thither by the general report and expectation which had spread it self over all the * *Eastern* parts, and in a manner over all places of the Roman Empire, of the Jewish Messiah, that about this time should be born at *Jerusalem*) they no sooner heard of it, but universally flocked to this Christian Assembly: where they were amazed to hear these *Galileans* speaking to them in their own native Languages, so various, so vastly different from one another. And it could not but exceedingly encrease the wonder

Acts 2. 1.

Numb. 11. 25.

* *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in satis, ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore, &c. Sueton. in vit. Vespas. c. 4. p. 728. eadem habet Tacitus Histor. l. 5. c. 13. p. 540.*

Περ. παιδ.
ἀγωγ. p. 2.

der to reflect upon the meanness and inconsiderableness of the Persons, neither assisted by natural parts, nor polished by education, nor improved by use and custom: which three things Philosophers require to render a man accurate and extraordinary in any art or discipline, φῶς γὰρ ἀνευ μαθήσεως τυφλόν· μαθήσει δὲ καὶ φύσιν ἀλλοτρίαν· αἰσθησις χωρὶς ἀμφοῖν ἀπλήρεια, says *Plutarch*; Natural disposition without institution is blind, instruction without a *genius* and disposition is defective, and exercise without both is lame and imperfect. Whereas these Disciples had not one of these to set them off; their parts were mean, below the rate of the common people, the *Galileans* being generally accounted the rudest and most stupid of the whole *Jewish* Nation; their education had been no higher than to catch Fish, and to mend Nets; nor had they been used to plead causes, or to deliver themselves before great Assemblies; but spoke on a sudden, not premeditated discourses; not idle stories, or wild roving fancies, but the great and admirable works of God, and the mysteries of the Gospel beyond humane apprehensions to find out, and this delivered in almost all the Languages of the then known World. Men were severally affected with it, according to their different tempers and apprehensions. Some admiring and not knowing what to think on't; others, deriding it, said, that it was nothing else but the wild raving effect of drunkenness and intemperance. At so wild a rate are men of prophane minds wont to talk, when they take upon them to pass their censure in the things of God.

Πάντων δὲ
εἰς αὐτὸν ἰχθῦ-
σησαν, εἰ μὴ
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν
διέλυσαν ἐ-
πελθόντες ἐκ-
τὴν ἀρχῇ καθ'
ἣν τοῖς σάβ-
βατον αἰετο-
ποιεῖται νό-
μιμον ὅτιν ἡ-
μῖν. Joseph. de
vit. sua, p.
1020.

3. **HEREUPON** the Apostles rose up, and *Peter*, in the name of the rest, took this occasion of discoursing to them: He told them, that this scandalous slander proceeded from the spirit of malice and falsehood; that their censure was as uncharitable, as it was unreasonable; that *they that are drunken, are drunk in the night*; that it was against nature and custom for men to be in drink so soon, too early for such a suspicion to take place, it being now but about nine of the Clock, the hour for Morning Prayer, till when men even of ordinary sobriety and devotion on Festival days were wont to fast. That these extraordinary and miraculous passages were but the accomplishment of an ancient Prophecy, the fulfilling of what God had expressly foretold should come to pass in the times of the *Messiah*; that *Jesus of Nazareth* had evidently approv'd himself to be the *Messiah* sent from God by many unquestionable miracles, of which they themselves had been eye witnesses: And though by God's permission, who had determined by this means to bring about the Salvation of mankind, they had wickedly crucified and slain him, yet that God had raised him from the dead: That it was not possible he should be holden always under the dominion of the Grave; nor was it consistent with the Justice and goodness of God, and especially with those Divine predictions which had expressly foretold he should rise again from the dead: *David* having more particularly foretold, *That his flesh should rest in hope, that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, neither suffer his holy one to see corruption*; but would make known to him the ways of life: That this Prophecy could not be meant concerning *David* himself, by whom it was spoken, he having many Ages since been turn'd to ashes, his body resolv'd into rottenness and putrefaction, his Tomb yet visible among them, from whence he never did return; that therefore it must needs have been prophetically spoken concerning *Christ*, having never been truly fulfill'd in any but him, who both died, and was risen again, whereof they were witnesses. Yea, that he was not onely risen from the dead, but ascended into Heaven, and according to *David's* prediction, *Sate down on God's right hand, untill he made his Enemies his foot-stool*: which could not be primarily meant of *David*, he never having yet *bodily* ascended into Heaven; that therefore the whole house of *Israel* ought to believe, and take notice, that this very *Jesus*, whom they had crucified, was the Person whom God had appointed to be the *Messiah* and the *Saviour* of his Church.

4. **THIS** discourse in every part of it, like so many daggers, pierc'd them to the heart; who thereupon cryed out to *Peter* and his Brethren to know what they should doe. *Peter* told them, that there was no other way, than by an hearty and sincere repentance, and a being baptized into the Religion of this crucified Saviour, to expiate their guilt, to obtain pardon of sin, and the gifts and benefits of the Holy Ghost. That upon these terms the promises of the new Covenant, which was ratified by the death of *Christ*, did belong to them and their children, and to all that should effectually believe and embrace the Gospel: farther pressing and persuading them by doing thus, to save themselves from that unavoidable ruine and destruction, which this wicked and untoward generation of obstinate unbelieving *Jews* were shortly

shortly to be exposed to. The effects of his preaching were strange and wonderfull: as many as believed were baptized: there being that day *added to the Church* no less than *three thousand souls*. A quick and plentiful harvest; the late sufferings of our Saviour, as yet fresh bleeding in their memories, the present miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, that appeared upon them, the zeal of his Auditours, though heretofore misplaced and misguided, and above all, the efficacy of Divine grace, contributing to this numerous conversion.

5. **THOUGH** the converting so vast a multitude might justly challenge a place amongst the greatest miracles, yet the Apostles began now more particularly to exercise their miraculous power. *Peter and John* going up to the *Temple*, about three of the clock in the afternoon, towards the conclusion of one of the solemn hours of prayer, (for the *Jews* divided their day into four greater hours, each quarter containing three lesser under it, three of which were publick and stated times of prayer instituted (*say they*) by the three great Patriarchs of their Nation; the first from six of the clock in the morning till nine, called hence *the third hour* of the day, instituted by *Abraham*, this was called תפלת שחרית, or *morning prayer*: the second from nine till twelve, called *the sixth hour*, and this hour of prayer ordain'd by *Isaac*, this was called תפלת צהריים, or *mid-day prayer*: the third from twelve till three in the afternoon, called *the ninth hour*, appointed by *Jacob*, called תפלת ערבית, or *evening prayer*; and at this hour it was that these two Apostles went up to the *Temple*, where) they found a poor impotent Cripple, who, though above forty years old, had been lame from his Birth, laying at the *beautiful Gate of the Temple*, and asking an Alms of them. *Peter* earnestly looking on him, told him, he had no money to give him, but that he would give him that which was a great deal better, restore him to his health; and lifting him up by the hand, commanded him in the Name of *Jesus of Nazareth* to rise up and walk. The word was no sooner said, than the thing was done: Immediately the Nerves and Sinews were enlarged, and the Joynts returned to their proper use. The man standing up went into the *Temple*, walking, leaping and praising God. The beholding so sudden and extraordinary a Cure begot great admiration in the minds of the People, whose curiosity drew them to the Apostles to see those who had been the Authours of it. Which *Peter* taking notice of, began to discourse to them to this effect, That there was no reason they should wonder at them, as if by their own skill and art they had wrought this Cure, it being intirely done in the Name of their crucified Master, by the Power of that very *Christ*, that Holy and Just person, whom they themselves had denied and delivered up to *Pilate*, and preferred a Rebel and a Murderer before him, when his Judge was resolved to acquit him: and that though they had put him to death, yet that they were witnesses, that God had raised him up again, and that he was gone to Heaven, where he must remain till the times of the General Restitution. That he presumed that this in them, as also in their Rulers, was in a great measure the effect of ignorance, and the not being thoroughly convinced of the Greatness and Divinity of his Person; which yet God made use of for the bringing about his Wise and Righteous Designs, the accomplishing of what he had foretold concerning *Christ's* Person and Sufferings, by *Moses* and *Samuel*, and all the holy Prophets which had been since the World began: That therefore it was now high time for them to repent, and turn to God, that their great wickedness might be expiated; and that when *Christ* should shortly come in Judgment upon the *Jewish* Nation, it might be a time of comfort and refreshing to them, what would be of vengeance and destruction to other men: that they were the peculiar persons, to whom the blessings of the promises did primarily appertain, and unto whom God in the first place sent his Son, that he might derive his Blessing upon them by turning them away from their iniquities. While *Peter* was thus discoursing to the People in one place, we may suppose that *John* was preaching to them in another; and the success was answerable. The Apostles cast out the seed, and God immediately gave the increase. There being by this means no fewer than *Five Thousand* brought over to the Faith: though 'tis possible the whole body of Believers might be comprehended in that number.

6. **WHILE** the Apostles were thus preaching, the *Priests* and *Sadducees* (who particularly appeared in this business, as being enemies to all tumults, or whatever might disturb their present ease and quiet, the only portion of happiness they expected; besides that they hated *Christianity*, because so expressly asserting the *Resurrection*) being vexed to hear this Doctrine vented amongst the People, intimated to the Magistrate,

to the other without any peevish or tart reflections, but went away rejoicing. But what the carriage of Christians was in this matter in the first and best ages of the Gospel, we have in another place sufficiently discovered to the World. We may not with-hold our obedience, till the Magistrate invades God's Throne, and counter-mands his authority, and may then appeal to the sense of Mankind, whether it be not most reasonable that God's authority should first take place, as the Apostles here appealed to their very Judges themselves. Nor do we find that the *Sanhedrim* did except against the Plea. At least whatever they thought, yet not daring to punish them for fear of the People, they only threatned them, and let them go: who thereupon presently return'd to the rest of the Apostles and Believers.

*Prim. Christ.
Part 3. Ch. 4.*

8. THE Church exceedingly multiplied by these means: and that so great a Company (most whereof were poor) might be maintained, they generally sold their Estates, and brought the Money to the Apostles, to be by them deposited in one common Treasury, and thence distributed according to the several exigencies of the Church; which gave occasion to this dreadful Instance. *Ananias* and his Wife *Sapphira*, having taken upon them the profession of the Gospel, according to the free and generous spirit of those times, had consecrated and devoted their Estate to the honour of God, and the necessities of the Church. And accordingly sold their Possessions, and turned them into Money. But as they were willing to gain the reputation of charitable Persons, so were they loth wholly to cast themselves upon the Divine Providence, by letting go all at once, and therefore privately with-held part of what they had devoted, and bringing the rest, laid it at the Apostles feet: hoping herein they might deceive the Apostles, though immediately guided by the Spirit of God. But *Peter*, at his first coming in, treated *Ananias* with these sharp inquiries; Why he would suffer *Satan* to fill his heart with so big a wickedness, as by keeping back of his estate, to think to deceive the Holy Ghost? That before it was sold, it was wholly at his own disposal; and after, it was perfectly in his own power fully to have performed his vow: So that it was capable of no other interpretation, than that herein he had not only abused and injured men, but mocked God, and, what in him lay, lyed to, and cheated the Holy Ghost; who, he knew, was privy to the most secret thoughts and purposes of his heart. This was no sooner said, but suddenly, to the great terrour and amazement of all that were present, *Ananias* was arrested with a stroke from Heaven, and fell down dead to the ground. Not long after his Wife came in, whom *Peter* entertained with the same severe reproofs, wherewith he had done her Husband, adding, that the like sad fate and doom should immediately seize upon her, who thereupon dropt down dead. As she had been Co-partner with him in the Sin, becoming sharer with him in the punishment. An instance of great severity, filling all that heard of it with fear and terrour, and became a seasonable prevention of that hypocrisie and dissimulation, wherewith many might possibly think to have imposed upon the Church.

Acts 5. 1.

9. THIS severe Case being extraordinary, the Apostles usually exerted their power in such Miracles as were more usefull and beneficial to the world: Curing all manner of Diseases, and dispossessing Devils: Insomuch that they brought the Sick into the Streets, and laid them upon Beds and Couches, that at least *Peter's* shadow, as he passed by, might come upon them. These astonishing Miracles could not but mightily contribute to the propagation of the Gospel, and convince the World that the Apostles were more considerable Persons than they took them for, poverty and meanness being no bar to true worth and greatness. And, methinks, * *E-rasmus* his reflection is here not unseasonable; that no honour or sovereignty, no power or dignity was comparable to this glory of the Apostle; that the things of *Christ*, though in another way, were more noble and excellent than any thing that this World could afford. And therefore he tells us, that when he beheld the state and magnificence wherewith *Pope Julius the Second* appeared first at *Bononia*, and then at *Rome*, equalling the triumphs of a *Pompey*, or a *Cesar*; he could not but think how much all this was below the greatness and majesty of *S. Peter*, who converted the World, not by Power or Armies, not by Engines or Artifices of pomp and grandeur, but by Faith in the Power of *Christ*, and drew it to the admiration of himself: and the same state (*says he*) would no doubt attend the Apostles Successours, were they Men of the same temper and holiness of life. The Jewish Rulers alarm'd with this News, and awakened with the growing numbers of the Church, send to apprehend the Apostles, and cast them into Prison. But God, who is never wanting to his own cause, sent that night an Angel from Heaven to open the Prison doors, commanding

Acts 5. 12.

* *E-rasmus* Annot. in loc.

SECT. VIII.

Of S. Peter's Acts, from the Dispersion of the Church at Jerusalem, till his contest with S. Paul at Antioch.

The great care of the Divine Providence over the Church. Peter dispatched by the Apostles to confirm the Church newly planted at Samaria. His baffling and silencing Simon Magus there. His going to Lydda, and curing Æneas. His raising Dorcas at Joppa. The Vision of all sorts of Creatures presented to him, to prepare him for the conversion of the Gentiles. His going to Cornelius, and declaring God's readiness to receive the Gentiles into the Church. The Baptizing Cornelius and his Family. Peter censured by the Jews for conversing with the Gentiles. The mighty prejudices of the Jews against the Gentiles noted out of Hea-then Writers. Peter cast into Prison by Herod Agrippa: miraculously delivered by an Angel. His discourse in the Synod at Jerusalem, that the Gentiles might be received without being put under the obligation of the Law of Moses. His unworthy compliance with the Jews at Antioch, in opposition to the Gentiles, severely checked and resisted by Saint Paul. The ill use Porphyry makes of this difference. The conceit of some that it was not Peter the Apostle but one of the Seventy.

THE Church had been hitherto tossed with gentle storms, but now a more violent tempest overtook it, which began in the *Proto-Martyr Stephen*, and was more vigorously carried on afterwards; by occasion whereof the Disciples were dispersed. And God who always brings good out of evil, hereby provided, that the Gospel should not be confin'd only to Jerusalem. Hitherto the Church had been crowded up within the City-Walls, and the Religion had crept up and down in private corners; but the professors of it being now dispersed abroad by the malice and cruelty of their enemies, carried Christianity along with them, and propagated it into the neighbour Countries, accomplishing hereby an ancient Prophecy, That out of Sion should go forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem. Thus God overrules the malice of men, and makes intended poison to become food or physick. That Divine Providence that governs the World, more particularly superintends the affairs and interests of his Church, so that no weapon form'd against Israel shall prosper; curses shall be turned into blessings, and that become an eminent means to enlarge and propagate the Gospel, which they designed as the only way to suppress and stifle it. Amongst those that were scattered *Philip the Deacon* was driven down unto Samaria, where he preached the Gospel, and confirmed his preaching by many miraculous cures, and dispossessing Devils. In this City there was one *Simon*, who by Magick Arts and Diabolical Sorceries sought to advance himself into a great fame and reputation with the People, insomuch that they generally beheld him as the great power of God, for so the * Ancients tell us, he used to style himself, giving out himself to be the first and chiefest Deity, the Father who is God over all, that is, that he was that which in every Nation was accounted the supreme Deity. This man hearing the Sermons, and beholding the Miracles that were done by *Philip* gave up himself amongst the number of believers, and was baptized with them. The Apostles, who yet remained at Jerusalem, having heard of the great success of *Philip's* ministry at Samaria, thought good to send some of their number to his assistance. And accordingly deputed *Peter* and *John*, who came thither. Where having prayed for, and laid their hands upon these new converts, they presently received the Holy Ghost. *Simon* the Magician observing that by laying on of the Apostles hands, miraculous gifts were conferred upon men, offered them a considerable sum of Money to invest him with this power, that on whom he laid his hands they might receive the Holy Ghost. *Peter* perceiving his rotten and insincere intentions, rejected his impious motion with scorn and detestation: Thy money perish with thee. He told him that his heart was naught and hypocritical; that he could have no share nor portion in so great a privilege; that it more concern'd him to repent of so great a wickedness, and sincerely seek to God, that so the thought of his heart might be forgiven him; for that he perceived that he had a very vicious and corrupt temper and constitution of mind, and was as yet bound up under a very wretched and miserable state, displeasing to God,

Acts 8. 1.

Isai. 2. 3.

* J. Marr.
Apol. 2. p. 69.
Iren. l. 1. c.
20. p. 115.
Tertull. de
prescript. Ha-
ret. c. 46. p.
219.

God, and dangerous to himself. The Conscience of the man was a little startled with this, and he prayed the Apostles to intercede with Heaven, that God would pardon his sin, and that none of these things might fall upon him. But how little cure this wrought upon him, we shall find elsewhere, when we shall again meet with him afterwards. The Apostles having thus confirmed the Church at *Samaria*, and preached up and down in the Villages thereabouts, returned back to *Jerusalem*, to joyn their counsel and assistance to the rest of the Apostles.

Acts 9. 32.

2. THE storm, though violent, being at length blown over, the Church enjoyed a time of great calmness and serenity: during which *Peter* went out to visit the Churches lately planted in those parts by those Disciples who had been dispersed by the persecution at *Jerusalem*. Coming down to *Lydda*, the first thing he did was to work a cure upon one *Aeneas*, who being crippl'd with the Palsie, had lain bed-ridden for eight years together. *Peter* coming to him, bad him in the name of Christ to arise, and the man was immediately restored to perfect health. A miracle that was not confined onely to his person, for being known abroad, generally brought over the Inhabitants of that place. The fame of this miracle having flown to *Joppa*, a Sea-port Town, some six miles thence; the Christians there presently sent for *Peter* upon this occasion. *Tabitha*, whose Greek name was *Dorcas*, a woman venerable for her piety and diffusive charity, was newly dead, to the great lamentation of all good men, and much more to the loss of the poor that had been relieved by her. *Peter*, coming to the house, found her dressed up for her Funeral solemnity, and compassed about with the sorrowfull Widows, who shewed the Coats and Garments wherewith she had clothed them, the badges of her charitable liberality. *Peter*, shutting all out, kneeled down and prayed, and then turning him to the body, commanded her to arise, and lifting her up by the hand, presented her in perfect health to her friends, and those that were about her: by which he confirmed many, and converted more to the Faith. After which he staid some considerable time at *Joppa*, lodging in the house of *Simon* a *Tanner*.

Acts 10. 9.

3. WHILE he abode in this City, retiring one morning to the house top to pray, (as the *Jews* frequently did, having thence a free and open prospect towards *Jerusalem* and the Temple) it being now near Noon, which was the conclusion of one of their stated times of Prayer, he found himself hungry, and called for meat: but while it was preparing he himself fell into a Trance, wherein was presented to him a large sheet let down from Heaven, containing all sorts of Creatures, clean and unclean; a voice at the same time calling to him, that he should rise, kill freely, and indifferently feed upon them; *Peter* tenacious as yet of the Rites and Institutions of the *Mosaick* Law, rejoyn'd, That he could not doe it, having never eaten any thing that was common or unclean. To which the voice replied, That what God had cleansed he should not account or call common. Which being done thrice, the Vessel was again taken up into Heaven, and the Vision presently disappeared. By this symbolick representment, though *Peter* at present knew not what to make of it, God was teaching him a new lesson, and preparing him to go upon an Errand and Embassy, which the Spirit at the same time expressly commanded him to undertake. While he was in this doubtfull postour of mind, three messengers knock'd at the door enquiring for him, from whom he received this account: That *Cornelius* a *Roman*, Captain of a band of *Italian* Souldiers at *Cæsarea*, a person of great Piety and Religion (being a *Profelyte* at the Gate, who though not observing an exact conformity to the Rites of the *Mosaick* Law, did yet maintain some general correspondence with it, and lived under the obligation of the seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*) had by an immediate command from God sent for him. The next day *Peter* accompanied with some of the Brethren, went along with them, and the day after they came to *Cæsarea*. Against whose arrival *Cornelius* had summoned his friends and kindred to his house. *Peter* arriving, *Cornelius* (who was effected with a mighty reverence for so great a Person) fell at his Feet and worshipped him: a way of address frequent in those *Eastern* Countries towards Princes and great men, but by the *Greeks* and *Romans* appropriated as a peculiar honour to the gods. *Peter*, rejecting the honour, as due only to God, entred into the house, where he first made his Apology to the Company, that though they could not but know, that it was not lawfull for a *Jew* to converse in the duties of Religion with those of another Nation, yet that now God had taught him another lesson. And then proceeded particularly to enquire the reason of *Cornelius* his sending for him. Whereupon *Cornelius* told him, That four days since, being conversant in the duties of Fasting and Prayer, an Angel had appeared to

to him, and told him, that his Prayers and Alms were come up for a memorial before God, that he should send to Joppa for one Simon Peter, who lodged in a Tanner's house by the Sea side, who should farther make known his mind to him; that accordingly he had sent, and being now come, they were there met to hear what he had to say to them. Where we see, that though God sent an Angel to Cornelius to acquaint him with his will, yet the Angel was only to direct him to the Apostle for instruction in the Faith: which no doubt was done, partly that God might put the greater honour upon an institution, that was likely to meet with contempt and scorn enough from the World; partly to let us see, that we are not to expect extraordinary and miraculous ways of teaching and information, where God affords ordinary means.

4. HERE UPON Peter began this Discourse, that by comparing things it was now plain and evident, that the partition-wall was broken down; that God had no longer a particular kindness for Nations and Persons; that it was not the Nation, but the Religion; not the outward quality of the man, but the inward temper of the mind that recommends men to God; that the devout and the pious, the righteous and the good man, where-ever he be, is equally dear to Heaven; that God has as much respect for a just and vertuous person in the Wilds of Scythia, as upon Mount Sion: that the reconciling and making peace between God and Man by Jesus Christ, was the Doctrine published by the Prophets of old, and of late, since the times of John, preached through Galilee and Judea, viz. That God had anointed and consecrated Jesus of Nazareth with Divine Powers and Graces, in the exercise whereof he constantly went about to do good to men: that they had seen all he had done amongst the Jews, whom though they had slain and crucified, yet that God had raised him again the third day, and had openly shew'd him to his Apostles and followers, whom he had chosen to be his peculiar witnesses, and whom to that end he had admitted to eat and drink with him after his Resurrection, commanding them to preach the Gospel to Mankind, and to testify that he was the person whom God had ordained to be the great Judge of the World: that all the Prophets with one consent bore witness of him: that this Jesus is he, in whose Name whosoever believes, should certainly receive remission of sins. While Peter was thus preaching to them, the Holy Ghost fell upon a great part of his Auditory, enabling them to speak several Languages, and therein to magnifie the giver of them. Whereat the Jews, who came along with Peter, did sufficiently wonder, to see that the gifts of the Holy Ghost should be poured upon the Gentiles. Peter, seeing this, told the company that he knew no reason why these persons should not be baptized, having received the Holy Ghost as well as they; and accordingly commanded them to be baptized. For whose farther conformation he staid some time longer with them. This act of Peter's made a great noise among the Apostles and Brethren at Jerusalem, who being lately converted from their Judaism, were as yet zealous for the Religion of their Country, and therefore severely charged Peter at his return for his too familiar conversing with the Gentiles. See here the powerfull prejudice of education. The Jews had for several Ages conceived a radicated and inveterate prejudice against the Gentiles. Indeed the Law of Moses commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own Nation; and the Rites and Institutions of their Religion, and the peculiar form of their Commonwealth made them different from the fashion of other Countries: a separation which in after-times they drew into a narrower compass. Besides, they were mightily puffed up with their external privileges, that they were the seed of Abraham, the People whom God had peculiarly chosen for himself, above all other Nations of the World, and therefore with a lofty scorn proudly rejected the Gentiles as Dogs and Reprobates, utterly refusing to shew them any office of common kindness and converse. We find the Heathens frequently charging them with this rudeness and inhumanity. * Juvenal accuses them, that they would not shew a Traveller the right way, nor give him a draught of Water, if he were not of their Religion. Tacitus tells us, that they had adversus omnes alios hostile odium, a bitter hatred of all other People: * Haman represented them to Ahasuerus, as *israhel apud eos inimicus*, &c. A people that would never kindly mix and correspond with any other, as different in their Manners as in their Laws and Religion from other Nations. The friends of Antiochus (as the Historian reports) charged them *μὴν ἀντιθέω ἰδρὼν ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι* & *πρὸς ἅλλοις ἰσραὴλ ἐχθρὰς*, & *πολεμικὰς ἀπολαμβεῖν ἀλλήλους, μετὰ δὲ ἅλλοις ἰσραὴλ τεταμένους ὑγινοῦν τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ εὐνοεῖν*, That they alone of all others were the most unsociable people under Heaven; that they held no converse or correspondence with any other, but accounted them as their mortal enemies.

Vos estis templum Domini, & Spiritus Sanctus habitabat in vobis. Et de Hierosolymis & de Britannia aequaliter patet aula celestis. Regnum enim Dei intra vos est. Hieronym. ad Paulin. p. 102. Tom. I.

Acts II. 2.

* Juven. Satyr. p. 439.

Hist. lib. 5.

* Haman c. 4. s. p. 335.

* Ap. Joseph

Antiq. Jud. l.

II. c. 6.

Diod Sicul.

lib. 34. apud

Phot. Cod.

244. Col.

1149.

enemies

* Vid. Mai-
mon. in
cap. 12. & in
Gezelah. cap.
11.

enemies; that they would not eat nor drink with men of another Nation, no nor so much as wish well to them, their Ancestors having leavened them with an hatred of all mankind. This was their humour; and that the Gentiles herein did not wrong them, is sufficiently evident from their ordinary practice, and is openly avowed by their own * Writings. Nay, at their first coming over to Christianity, though one great design of it was, to soften the manners of men, and to oblige them to a more extensive and universal charity, yet could they hardly quit this common prejudice, quarrelling with Peter for no other reason, but that he had eaten and drunken with the Gentiles: in-
somuch that he was forced to apologize for himself, and to justify his actions as immediately done by Divine warrant and authority. And then, no sooner had he given them a naked and impartial account of the whole transaction, from first to last, but they presently turned their displeasure against him into thanks to God, that had granted to the Gentiles also Repentance unto life.

Acts 12. 1.

5. IT was now about the end of Caligula's Reign, when Peter, having finished his visitation of the new-planted Churches, was returned unto Jerusalem. Not long after Herod Agrippa, Grand-child to Herod the great, having attained the Kingdom, the better to ingratiate himself with the People, had lately put S. James to death. And finding that this gratified the Vulgar, resolved to send Peter the same way after him. In order whereunto he apprehended him, cast him into prison, and set strong guards to watch him: the Church in the mean time being very instant and importunate with Heaven for his life and safety. The Night before his intended execution, God purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, who coming to the prison, found him fast asleep between two of his Keepers. So soft and secure a Pillow is a good Conscience, even in the confines of Death, and the greatest danger. The Angel raised him up, knock'd off his Chains, bad him gird on his Garments, and follow him. He did so, and having passed the first and second Watch, and entred through the Iron-gate into the City (which opened to them of its own accord) after having passed through one street more, the Angel departed from him. By this time Peter came to himself, and perceived that it was no Vision, but a reality that had hapned to him. Whereupon he came to Mary's house, where the Church were met together at Prayer for him. Knocking at the Door, the Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving 'twas his voice, ran back to tell them that Peter was at the Door: Which they at first looked upon as nothing but the effect of a fright or fancy; but she still affirming it, they concluded that it was his Angel, or some peculiar messenger sent from him. The Door being open, they were strangely amazed at the sight of him: but he briefly told them the manner of his deliverance, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, presently withdrew into another place. 'Tis easie to imagine what a bustle and stir there was the next Morning among the Keepers of the Prison, with whom Herod was so much displeased, that he commanded them to be put to Death.

Acts 15. 1.

6. SOME time after this it hapned, that a controversie arising between the Jewish and the Gentile Converts, about the observation of the Mosaic Law, the minds of men were exceedingly disquieted and disturbed with it; the Jews zealously contending for Circumcision, and the observance of the Ceremonial Law to be joyn'd with the belief and profession of the Gospel, as equally necessary to Salvation. To compose this difference, the best expedient that could be thought on was, to call a general Council of the Apostles and Brethren to meet together at Jerusalem, which was done accordingly, and the case thoroughly scanned and canvassed. At last Peter stood up, and acquainted the Synod, that God having made choice of him among all the Apostles, to be the first that preached the Gospel to the Gentiles; God who was best able to judge of the hearts of men, had born witness to them, that they were accepted of him, by giving them his Holy Spirit as well as he had done to the Jews; having put no difference between the one and the other. That therefore it was a tempting and provoking God, to put a Yoke, upon the necks of the Disciples, which neither they themselves nor their Fathers were able to bear; there being ground enough to believe, that the Gentiles as well as the Jews should be saved by the grace of the Gospel. After some other of the Apostles had declared their judgments in the case, it was unanimously decreed, that except the temporary observance of some few particular things, equally convenient both for Jew and Gentile no other burthen should be imposed upon them, and so the decrees of the Council being drawn up into a Synodical Epistle, were sent abroad to the several Churches, for allaying the heats and controversies that had been raised about this matter.

7. PETER

7. PETER a while after the Celebration of this Council, left *Jerusalem*, and came down to *Antioch*, where using the liberty which the Gospel had given him, he familiarly ate and conversed with the *Gentile* Converts, accounting them, now that the partition-wall was broken down, no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the house-hold of God: This he had been taught by the Vision of the sheet let down from Heaven; this had been lately decreed, and he himself had promoted and subscribed it in the Synod at *Jerusalem*: this he had before practised towards *Cornelius* and his Family, and justified the action to the satisfaction of his accusers; and this he had here freely and innocently done at *Antioch*, till some of the *Jewish* Brethren coming thither, for fear of offending and displeasing them, he withdrew his converse with the *Gentiles*, as if it had been unlawful for him to hold Communion with *uncircumcised* persons, when yet he knew, and was fully satisfied, that our Lord had wholly removed all difference, and broken down the Wall of separation between *Jew* and *Gentile*. In which affair, as he himself acted against the light of his own mind and judgment, condemning what he had approved, and destroying what he had before built up, so hereby he confirmed the *Jewish* zealots in their inveterate error, cast infinite scruples into the minds of the *Gentiles*, filling their Consciences with fears and dissatisfactions, reviving the old feuds and prejudices between *Jew* and *Gentile*; by which means many others were ensnared, yea, the whole number of *Jewish* Converts followed his example, separating themselves from the company of the *Gentile* Christians. Yea, so far did it spread, that *Barnabas* himself was carried away with the stream and torrent of this unwarrantable practice. S. Paul, who was at this time come to *Antioch*, unto whom Peter gave the right hand of fellowship, acknowledging his Apostleship of the Circumcision, observing these evil and unevangelical actings, resolutely withstood Peter to the face, and publicly reprov'd him as a person worthy to be blamed for his gross prevarication in this matter; severely expostulating and reasoning with him, that he who was himself a *Jew*, and thereby under a more immediate obligation to the *Mosaic* Law, should cast off that Yoke himself, and yet endeavour to impose it upon the *Gentiles*, who were not in the least under any obligation to it. A smart, but an impartial charge; and indeed so remarkable was this carriage of S. Paul, towards our Apostle, that though it set things right for the present, yet it made some noise abroad in the World. Yes, * *Porphry* himself, that acute and subtle enemy of Christianity, makes use of it as an argument against them both: charging the one with error and falsehood, and the other with rudeness and incivility; and that the whole was but a compact of forgery and deceit, while the Princes of the Church did thus fall out among themselves. And so sensible were some of this in the first Ages of Christianity, that rather than such a dishonour and disgrace, as they accounted it, should be reflected upon Peter; they tell † us of two several *Cephas*'s, one the Apostle, the other one of the seventy Disciples; and that it was the last of these that was guilty of this prevarication, and whom S. Paul so vigorously resisted and reprov'd at *Antioch*. But for this plausible and well-meant Evasion the Champions of the *Romish* Church conn them no great thanks at this day. Nay, S. Hierom long since fully confuted it in his Notes upon this place.

* Apud Hieron.
proem. in Ep.
ad Gal. p.
159. Tom.

† Hieron.
Com. in Gal.
2. p. 168.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of S. Peter's Acts from the End of the Sacred Story till his Martyrdom.

Peter's story prosecuted out of Ecclesiastical Writers. His planting of a Church and an Episcopal See at Antioch; when said to be. His first Journey to Rome, and the happiness it brought to the Roman Empire. His preaching in other places, and return to Rome; His encounter with Simon Magus. The impostures of the Magician. His familiarity with the Emperours, and the great honours said to be done to him. His Statue and Inscription at Rome. Peter's victory over him by raising one from the Dead. Simon attempting to fly is by Peter's Prayers hindered, falls down, and dies. Nero's displeasure against Peter, whence. His being cast into Prison. His flight thence, and being brought back by Christ appearing to him. Crucified with his head downwards, and why. The place of his Martyrdom and Burial. The original and greatness of S. Peter's Church in Rome. His Episcopal Chair pretended to be still kept there.

HITHERTO in drawing up the Life of this great Apostle, we have had an infallible Guide to conduct and lead us: But the Sacred Story breaking off here, forces us to look abroad, and to pick up what *Memoirs* the Ancients have left us in this matter: which we shall for the main digest according to the order, wherein *Baronius*, and other Ecclesiastick Writers have disposed the series of S. Peter's Life: Reserving what is justly questionable, to a more particular examination afterward. And that we may present the account more entire and perfect, we must step back a little in point of time, that so we may go forward with greater advantage. We are to know therefore, that during the time of peace and calmness which the Church enjoyed after *Saul's* Persecution, when S. Peter went down to visit the Churches, he is said to have gone to *Antioch*, where great Numbers of *Jews* inhabited, and there to have planted the Christian Faith. That he founded a Church here * *Eusebius* expressly tells us, and by || others it is said, that he himself was the first Bishop of this See. Sure I am that * *S. Chrysostom* reckons it one of the greatest honours of that City, that S. Peter staid so long there, and that the Bishops of it succeeded him in that See. The care and precedency of the Church he had between Six and Seven Years. Not that he staid there all that time, but that having ordered and disposed things to the best advantage, he returned to other affairs and exigencies of the Church: confirming the new Plantation, bringing in *Cornelius* and his Family, and in him the first fruits of the Gentiles conversion to the faith of Christ. After which he returned unto *Jerusalem*, where he was imprisoned by *Herod*, and miraculously delivered by an Angel sent from Heaven.

* *Chron. ad An. Chr. 43.*
|| *Hieron. Comment. in 2. ad Galat. p. 168. T. 9.*
* *Encom. S. Ignat. Mart. p. 503. Tom. 1.*

2. **W**HAT became of Peter after his deliverance out of Prison is not certainly known: probably he might preach in some parts a little farther distant from *Judea*, as we are told * he did at *Byzantium*, and in the Countries thereabout (though, I confess, the evidence to me is not convincing.) After this he resolved upon a Journey to *Rome*; where most agree he arrived about the Second Year of the Emperour *Claudius*. || *Orosius* tells us, that coming to *Rome*, he brought prosperity along with him to that City: For besides several other extraordinary advantages which at that time hapned to it, this was not the least observable, that *Camillus Scribonianus*, Governour of *Dalmatia*, soliciting the Army to rebell against the Emperour, the *Eagles*, their Military Standard, remained so fast in the Ground, that no power nor strength was able to pluck them up. With which unusual accident the minds of the Souldiers were surprized and startled, and turning their Swords against the Authour of the sedition, continued firm and loyal in their obedience. Whereby a dangerous Rebellion was prevented, likely enough otherwise to have broken out. This he ascribes to Saint Peter's coming to *Rome*, and the first Plantation of the Christian Faith in that City, Heaven beginning more particularly to smile upon that place at his first coming thither. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that at his first arrival, he disposed himself amongst the *Jews* his Country-men, who, ever since the time of *Augustus*, had dwelt in the Region beyond *Tyber*. But when afterwards he began to preach to the

* *Bar. ad Ann. Chr. 44. Num. 12. vid. Epist. Agap. ad Pet. Hieros. in V. Synod. sub Men. Conc. Tom. 4. p. 24.*
|| *Hist. lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 296. & seq.*

Gentiles,

Gentiles, he was forced to change his Lodging, and was taken in by one *Padens*, a Senatour lately converted to the Faith. Here he closely plyed his main office and employment, to establish Christianity in that place. Here we are told * he met with *Philo* the Jew, lately come on his second embassy unto *Rome*, in the behalf of his Country-men at *Alexandria*, and to have contracted an intimate friendship and acquaintance with him. And now it was, says *Baronius*, that *Peter* being mindfull of the Churches which he had founded in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia* and *Asia* the less, wrote his first *Epistle* to them, which he probably infers hence, that *S. Mark* being yet with him at the time of the date of this *Epistle*, it must be written at least some time this Year, for that now it was that *S. Mark* was sent to preach and propagate the Faith in *Egypt*. Next to the planting Religion at *Rome*, he took care to propagate it in the *Western* parts. And to that end (if we may believe one * of those that pretend to be his Successours) he sent abroad Disciples into several Provinces. That so their sound might go into all the Earth, and their words into the ends of the World.

3. IT happened that after *S. Peter* had been several Years at *Rome*, *Claudius* the Emperour taking advantage of some seditions and tumults raised by the Jews, by a publick *Edict* banished them out of *Rome*. In the Number of whom *S. Peter* (they say) departed thence, and returned back to *Jerusalem*, where he was present at that great *Apostolical Synod*, of which before. After this we are left under great uncertainties, how he disposed of himself for many Years. Confident we may be, that he was not idle, but spent his time sometimes in preaching in the Eastern parts, sometimes in other parts of the World, as in * *Africk*, *Sicily*, *Italy*, and other places. And here it may not be amiss to insert a claim in behalf of our own Country: *Eusebius* telling us (as || *Metaphrastes* reports it) that *Peter* was not onely in these *Western* parts, but particularly that he was a long time in *Britain*, where he converted many Nations to the Faith. But we had better be without the honour of *Saint Peter's* company, than build the story upon so sandy a foundation: *Metaphrastes* his Authority being of so little value in this case, that it is slighted by the more learned and moderate Writers of the Church of *Rome*. But where-ever it was that *Saint Peter* employed his time, towards the latter part of *Nero's* Reign, he returned to *Rome*; where he found the minds of the People strangely bewitched and hardened against the embracing of the *Christian* Religion by the subtilties and Magick arts of *Simon Magus*, whom (as we have before related) he had formerly baffled at *Samaria*. This *Simon* was born at * *Gitton*, a Village of *Samaria*, bred up in the Arts of Sorcery and Divination, and by the help of the Diabolical powers performed many strange feats of wonder and activity. Infomuch that People generally looked upon him as some great Deity come down from Heaven. But being discovered and confounded by *Peter* at *Samaria*, he left the *East* and fled to *Rome*. Where by Witchcraft and Sorceries he insinuated himself into the favour of the People, and at last became very acceptable to the Emperours themselves, infomuch that no honour and veneration was too great for him. || *Justin Martyr* assures us, that he was honoured as a Deity, that a Statue was erected to him in the *Insula Tyberina*, between two Bridges, with this Inscription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*; To *Simon* the holy God: that the *Samaritans* generally, and very many of other Nations did own and worship him as the chief principal Deity. I know the credit of this Inscription is shrewdly shaken by some later Antiquaries, who tell us, that the Good Father being a Greek, might easily mistake in a *Latin* Inscription, or be imposed upon by others; and that the true Inscription was *SEMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO*, &c. such an Inscription being in the last Age dug up in the *Tyberine Island*, and there preserved to this day. It is not impossible but this might be the foundation of the story. But sure I am, that it is not only reported by the *Martyr*, who was himself a *Samaritan*, and lived but in the next Age, but by others almost of the same time, (a) *Irenaeus*, (b) *Tertullian*, and by others (c) after them. It farther deserves to be considered, that *J. Martyr* was a person of great learning and gravity, inquisitive about matters of this nature, at this time at *Rome*, where he was capable fully to satisfy himself in the truth of things, that he presented this *Apology* to the Emperour and the Senate of *Rome*, to whom he would be carefull what he said, and who, as they knew whether it was true or no, so, if false, could not but ill resent to be so boldly imposed upon by so notorious a fable. But, be it as it will, he was highly in favour both with the People and their Emperours; especially *Nero*, who was the Great Patron of Magicians, * and all who maintained secret ways of commerce with the infernal powers. With him || *S. Peter* thought fit in the first place to encounter, and

* Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 53.

Hieron. de script. Eccl. in Phil. p. 270. || Ad Ann. 45. Num. 16.

* Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Dec. Eug. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 751.

|| Vid. Oros. lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 297.

* Vid. Innoc. Epist. ubi supra.

|| De Petr. & Paul. ad diem 29. Jun. Num. 23. Vid. etiam N. 10. ibid.

* J. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 69. --- 91. vid. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 349.

|| Ubi supra, Apol. 2.

(a) Iren. adv. Har. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 115.

(b) Tertull. Apol. c. 13. p. 14.

(c) Euseb. l. 2. c. 14. p. 51. Aug. de Ha-

res. in Simon. Tom. 6. col. 13. Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. 154.

* Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 30. c. 2. p. 606.

|| Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 14. pag. 51, 52.

to undeceive the People, by discovering the impostures and delusions of that wretched man.

* Damasc. in
vit. Petr.

Conc. Tom. 1.
Const. App. lib.

6. c. 8, 9. p.

944. Arnob.
adv. Gent. lib.

2. p. 23. Epiph.

Hares. 21. p.

3. 1. Sulp.

Sev. lib. 2. p.

137 & alii.

|| Heges. de

Excid. Hieros.

lib. 3. c. 2.

293.

4. THAT he did so, is generally affirmed by the Ancient Fathers*, who tell us of some particular Instances, wherein he baffled and confounded him. But because the matter is more entirely drawn up by || *Hegesippus* the younger, an Authour contemporary with *S. Ambrose*, if not (which is most probable) *S. Ambrose* himself, we shall from him represent the summary of the story. There was at this time at *Rome* an eminent young Gentleman, and a Kinsman of the Emperour's, lately dead. The fame which *Peter* had for raising persons to life, persuaded his friends that he might be called. Others also prevailing that *Simon* the Magician might be sent for. *Simon*, glad of the occasion to magnifie himself before the People, propounded to *Peter*, that if he raised the Gentleman unto life, then *Peter*, who had so injuriously provoked the great power of God, (as he styled himself) should lose his life: But if *Peter* prevailed, he himself would submit to the same fate and sentence. *Peter* accepted the terms, and *Simon* began his Charms and Inchantments, whereat the dead Gentleman seemed to move his hand. The People that stood by, presently cryed out, that he was alive, and that he talked with *Simon*, and began to fall foul upon *Peter*, for daring to oppose himself against so great a Power. The Apostle entreated their patience, told them, that all this was but a phantasm and appearance, that if *Simon* was but taken from the Bed-side, all this pageantry would quickly vanish. Who being accordingly removed, the Body remained without the least sign of motion. *Peter*, standing at a good distance from the Bed, silently made his address to Heaven, and then before them all commanded the young Gentleman in the Name of the Lord *Jesus* to arise: who immediately did so, spoke, walked and eat, and was by *Peter* restored to his Mother. The People who saw this, suddenly changed their opinions, and fell upon the Magician with an intent to stone him. But *Peter* begged his life, and told them, that it would be a sufficient punishment to him, to live and see that, in despite of all his Power and Malice, the Kingdom of *Christ* should increase and flourish. The Magician was inwardly tormented with this defeat, and vex'd to see the triumph of the Apostle, and therefore mustering up all his powers, summoned the People, told them that he was offended at the *Galileans*, whose Protectour and Guardian he had been, and therefore set them a Day, when he promised that they should see him fly up into Heaven. At the time appointed he went up to the Mount of the Capitol, and throwing himself from the top of the Rock, began his flight. A sight which the People entertained with great wonder and veneration, affirming that this must be the power of God, and not of man. *Peter*, standing in the Crowd, prayed to our Lord, that the People might be undeceived, and that the vanity of the Impostour might be discovered in such a way, that he himself might be sensible of it. Immediately the Wings which he had made himself began to fail him, and he fell to the ground, miserably bruised and wounded with the fall: Whence being carried into a neighbouring Village, he soon after died. This is the story, for the particular circumstances whereof, the Reader must rely upon the credit of my Authour, the thing in general being sufficiently acknowledged by most ancient Writers. This contest of *Peter's* with *Simon Magus* is placed by *Eusebius* under the Reign of *Claudius*, but by the generality both of ancient and later Authours, it is referred to the Reign of *Nero*.

5. SUCH was the end of this miserable and unhappy man: - Which no sooner came to the ears of the Emperour, to whom, by wicked artifices he had endeared himself, but it became an occasion of hastning *Peter's* ruine. The Emperour probably had been before displeased with *Peter*, not only upon the account of the general disagreement, and inconformity of his Religion, but because he had so strictly pressed temperance and chastity, and reclaimed so many Women in *Rome* from a dissolute and vitious life, thereby crossing that wanton and lascivious temper, to which that Prince was so immoderate a slave and Vassal. And being now by his means robbed of his dear favourite and companion, he resolved upon revenge, commanded *Peter* (as also *S. Paul*, who was at this time at *Rome*) to be apprehended and cast into the *Mamertine Prison* *: where they spent their time in the exercises of Religion, and especially in Preaching to the Prisoners, and those who resorted to them. And here we may suppose it was (if not a little before) that *Peter* wrote his second Epistle to the dispersed Jews, wherein he endeavours to confirm them in the belief and practice of Christianity, and to fortifie them against those poisonous and pernicious principles and practices, which even then began to break in upon the Christian Church.

6. NERO

6. NERO returning from *Achaia*, and entring *Rome* with a great deal of pomp and triumph, resolved now the Apostles should fall as a Victim and Sacrifice to his cruelty and revenge. While the fatal stroke was daily expected, the Christians in *Rome* did by daily prayers and importunities sollicite || S. Peter to make an escape, and to reserve himself to the uses and services of the Church. This at first he rejected, as what would ill reflect upon his courage and constancy, and argue him to be afraid of those sufferings for *Christ*, to which he himself had so often perswaded others; but the prayers and tears of the People overcame him, and made him yield. Accordingly the next night having prayed with, and taken his farewell of the Brethren, he got over the Prison-wall, and coming to the City-gate, he is there said to have met with our Lord, who was just entring into the City. Peter asked him, *Lord whither art thou going?* from whom he presently received this answer, *I am come to Rome, to be crucified a second time.* By which answer, Peter apprehended himself to be reproved, and that our Lord meant it of his death, that he was to be crucified in his Servant. Whereupon he went back to the Prison, and delivered himself into the hands of his Keepers, shewing himself most ready and chearfull to acquiesce in the will of God. And we are told, * that in the stone whereon our Lord stood while he talked with Peter, he left the impression of his Feet, which stone has been ever since preserved as a very sacred Relique, and after several translations was at length fixed in the Church of S. Sebastian the Martyr, where it is kept and visited with great expressions of reverence and devotion at this day. Before his suffering he was no question scourged, according to the manner of the Romans, who were wont first to whip those Malefactors, who were adjudged to the most severe and capital punishments: having saluted his Brethren, and especially having taken his last farewell of S. Paul, he was brought out of the Prison, and led to the top of the *Vatican Mount*, near to *Tybur*, the place designed for his Execution. The death he was adjudged to was crucifixion, as of all others accounted the most shamefull, so the most severe and terrible. But he intreated the favour of the Officers, that he might not be crucified in the ordinary way, || but might suffer with his Head downwards, and his Feet up to Heaven, affirming that he was unworthy to suffer in the same posture wherein his Lord had suffered before him. Happy man (as * Chrysostom glosses) to be set in the readiest posture of travelling from Earth to Heaven. His Body being taken from the Cross, is said to have been embalmed by Marcellinus the Presbyter after the Jewish manner, and was then buried in the *Vatican*, near the *Triumphal* way. Over his Grave a small Church was soon after erected, which being destroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the Cemetery in the *Appian way*, two Miles from *Rome*; where it remained till the time of Pope *Cornelius*, who conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where it rested somewhat obscurely untill the Reign of *Constantine*, who out of the mighty reverence which he had for the Christian Religion, caused many Churches to be built at *Rome*, but especially rebuilt and enlarged the *Vatican* to the honour of S. Peter. In the doing whereof Himself is said to have been the first that began to dig the Foundation, and to have carried thence twelve Baskets of Rubbish with his own hands, in honour, as it should seem, of the twelve Apostles. He infinitely enriched the Church with Gifts and Ornaments, which in every Age encreased in Splendor and Riches, till it is become one of the Wonders of the World at this day. Of whose glories, stateliness and beauty, and those many venerable Monuments of antiquity that are in it, they who desire to know more, may be plentifully satisfied by *Onuphrius*. Only one among the rest must not be forgotten: there being kept that very wooden Chair wherein S. Peter sat when he was at *Rome*, by the only touching whereof many Miracles are said to be performed. But surely *Baronius* his wisdom and gravity were from home, when speaking of this Chair, and fearing that Hereticks would imagine that it might be rotten in so long a time, he tells us, that it is no wonder that this Chair should be preserved so long, when *Eusebius* affirms, that the wooden Chair of S. James, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was extant in the time of *Constantine*. But the Cardinal it seems forgot to consider, that there is some difference between three and sixteen hundred Years. But of this enough. S. Peter was crucified according to the common computation in the Year of *Christ* sixty nine, and the thirteenth (or, as *Eusebius*, the fourteenth) of *Nero*, how truly may be enquired afterwards.

|| Vid. Ambrosii
ut supra & He-
geles. ib. p. 279.

* Rom. Subte-
ran. lib. 3. c.
21. N. 15.
Tom. I. p. 292.

|| Orig. lib. 3. in Genes. apud Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Hieron. de Script. Eccl.
in Petr. p. 262. Heges. p. 279.
Prima Petrum rapuit sententia legibus Neronis,
Pendere jussu prominente ligno.
Ille tamen veritus celsa decus amulando mortis
Ambire tanti gloriam Magistris: (mis)
Exigit ut pedibus mersum caput imprimant supi-
Quo spectet inum stipitem cerebro.
Figitur ergo manus subter, sola versus in cacumen
Hoc mente major, quo minor figura.
Noverat ex humili cælum citius solere adiri,
Dejecit ora, spiritum daturus.
Prudent. Peristeph. Hymn. XL in Pass. Pet. & Paul.
* Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 267. T. 6.

|| Vid. Onuphr.
de VII. Urb.
Basil. c. 4. p.
45. &c.

Loc. supra lau-
dat.

* Ad An. 45.
n. 11.

SECT. X.

The Character of his Person and Temper; and an Account of his Writings.

The description of S. Peter's Person. An account of his Temper. A natural fervour and eagerness predominant in him. Fierceness and animosity peculiarly remarkable in the Galileans. The abatements of his zeal and courage. His humility and lowliness of mind. His great love to, and zeal for Christ. His constancy and resolution in confessing of Christ. His faithfulness and diligence in his office. His Writings genuine and supposititious. His first Epistle; what the design of it. What meant by Babylon, whence it was dated. His second Epistle a long time questioned, and why. Difference in the style, no considerable objection. Grotius his conceit of its being written by Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, exploded. A concurrence of circumstances to entitle S. Peter to it. Some things in it referred to, which he had preached at Rome, particularly the destruction of Jerusalem, written but a little before his death. The spurious Writings attributed to him, mentioned by the Ancients. His Acts. Gospel. Petri Prædicatio. His Apocalypse. Judicium Petri. Peter's married relation. His Wife the companion of his Travels. Her Martyrdom. His Daughter Petronilla.

HAVING run through the current History of S. Peter's Life, it may not be amiss in the next place to survey a little his Person and Temper. His Body (if we may believe the description given of him by * *Nicephorus*) was somewhat slender, of a middle size, but rather inclining to tallness; his Complexion very pale, and almost white: The Hair of his Head and Beard curl'd and thick, but withall short; though || S. *Hierom* tells us out of *Clemens* his *Periods*, that he was Bald, which probably might be in his declining age; his Eyes black, but speckt with red, which * *Baronius* will have to proceed from his frequent weeping; his Eye-brows thin, or none at all; his Nose long, but rather broad and flat than sharp; such was the Case and Outside. Let us next look inwards, and view the Jewel that was within. Take him as a *Man*, and there seems to have been a natural eagerness predominant in his Temper, which as a whetstone sharpened his Soul for all bold and generous undertakings. It was this in a great measure that made him so forward to speak, and to return answers, sometimes before he had well considered them. It was this made him expose his person to the most imminent dangers, promise those great things in behalf of his Master and resolutely draw his Sword in his quarrel against a whole band of Soldiers, and wound the High-priest's Servant; and possibly he had attempted greater matters, had not our Lord restrained, and taken him off by that seasonable check that he gave him.

* *Hist. Eccles.*
lib. 2. c. 37.
p. 195.
|| *Com. in Gal.*
2. p. 164. l. 9.
ca lib. dīto.
Πρόξενος, seu
Πρόξενος Πέ-
τρος.
* *Ad An* 69.
n. 31.

Καὶ τοῖς ὁ
Πέτρος δὲ
μόνον πα-
ταχὲν ὁ κί-
νηται καὶ
φθίγγεται.
Chrysost.
Hom. 32. in
Joan. p. 170.

* Τηλικούται ὁ τὸν τὸ μίαντος, καὶ πο-
ταὶ ἰδύσιν ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ κακῶν, καὶ
πῶς αὖ πάλιν πῶς ἀντίστοιχον μίαντος
τὸ ὅτι ἐκ νηπίων, καὶ πολλοὶ πάντες Γαλιλαί-
οι καὶ ἐπὶ δουλία πῶς τὸν ἀνδρα, ὅτι
λαμπρυνεῖα τὴν χώραν κατέχον. *De Bello*
Jud. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 833.

2. **THIS** Temper he owed in a great measure to the *Genius* and nature of his Country, of which * *Josephus* gives this true character; That it naturally bred in men a certain *fierceness* and animosity, whereby they were fearlessly carried out upon any action, and in all things shew'd a great strength and courage both of mind and body. The *Galileans* (says he) being fighters from their childhood, the men being as seldom overtaken with cowardice, as their Country with want of men. And yet notwithstanding this, his fervour and fierceness had its intervals; there being some times when the *Paroxysms* of his heat and courage did intermit, and the man was surpris'd and betrayed by his own fears. Witness his passionate crying out, when he was upon the Sea in danger of his life, and his fearfull deserting his Master in the Garden; but especially his carriage in the High-priest's Hall, when the confident charge of a sorry Maid made him sink so far beneath himself, and, notwithstanding his great and resolute promises, so shamefully deny his Master, and that with curses and imprecations. But he was in danger, and passion prevailed over his understanding, and fear betrayed the succours which reason offered; and, being intent upon nothing but the present safety of his life, he heeded not what he did, when he disown'd his Master, to save himself; so dangerous is it to be left to our selves, and to have our natural passions let loose upon us.

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3. CONSIDER him as a *Disciple* and a Christian, and we shall find him exemplary in the great instances of Religion, Singular in his *Humility* and lowliness of mind. With what a passionate earnestness upon the conviction of a Miracle, did he beg of our Saviour to depart from him: accounting himself not worthy, that the Son of God should come near so vile a sinner? When our Lord by that wonderful condescension stooped to wash his Apostles feet, he could by no means be persuaded to admit it, not thinking it fit, that so great a Person should submit himself to so servile an office towards so mean a person as himself; nor could he be induced to accept it, till our Lord was in a manner forced to threaten him into obedience. When *Cornelius* heightened in his apprehensions of him by an immediate command from God concerning him, would have entertained him with expressions of more than ordinary honour and veneration; so far was he from complying with it, that he plainly told him, he was no other than such a man as himself. With how much candour and modesty does he treat the inferior Rulers and Ministers of the Church? He, upon whom Antiquity heaps so many honourable titles, styling himself no other than their *Fellow-presbyter*. Admirable his love to, and zeal for his Master, which he thought he could never express at too high a rate: for his sake venturing on the greatest dangers, and exposing himself to the most imminent hazards of life. 'Twas in his quarrel that he drew his Sword against a band of Souldiers, and an armed multitude; and 'twas love to his Master drew him into that imprudent advice, that he should seek to save himself, and avoid those sufferings that were coming upon him, that made him promise and engage so deep, to suffer and die with him. Great was his forwardness in owning *Christ* to be the *Messiah* and Son of God; which drew from our Lord that honourable *Encomium*, *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jonah*. But greater his courage and constancy in confessing *Christ* before his most inveterate enemies, especially after he had recovered himself of his fall. With how much plainness did he tell the *Jews* at every turn to their very faces, that they were the Murtherers and Crucifiers of the Lord of Glory? nay, with what an undaunted courage, with what an Heroick greatness of mind did he tell that very *Sanhedrim*, that had sentenced and condemned him, that they were guilty of his Murther, and that they could never be saved any other way, than by this very *Jesus*, whom they had crucified and put to death.

4. LASTLY, let us reflect upon him as an *Apostle*, as a Pastour and Guide of Souls. And so we find him faithful and diligent in his office, with an infinite zeal endeavouring to instruct the ignorant, reduce the erroneous, to strengthen the weak, and confirm the strong, to reclaim the vitious, and turn Souls to righteousness. We find him taking all opportunities of preaching to the people, converting many thousands at once. How many voyages and travels did he undergo? with how unconquerable a patience did he endure all conflicts and trials, and surmount all difficulties and oppositions, that he might plant and propagate the Christian Faith? Not thinking much to lay down his own life, to promote and further it. Nor did he only do his duty himself, but as one of the prime Superintendents of the Church, and as one that was sensible of the value and worth of Souls, he was careful to put others in mind of theirs, earnestly pressing and persuading the Pastours and Governours of it, *To feed the flock of God, To take upon them the Rule and Inspection of it freely and willingly*, not out of a sinister end, merely of gaining advantages to themselves, but out of a sincere design of doing good to Souls; that they would treat them mildly and gently, and be themselves examples of Piety and Religion to them, as the best way to make their Ministry successful and effectual. And because he could not be always present to teach and warn men, he ceased not by Letters to stir up their minds to the remembrance and practice of what they had been taught. A course, he tells them, which he was resolved to hold as long as he lived, as thinking it meet while he was in this tabernacle, to stir them up, by putting them in mind of these things; that so they might be able after his decease, to have them always in remembrance. And this may lead us to the consideration of those Writings which he left behind him for the benefit of the Church.

5. NOW the writings that entitle themselves to this Apostle, were either genuine, or supposititious. The genuine Writings are his two *Epistles*, which make up part of the Sacred Canon. For the first of them, no certain account can be had when it was written. Though *Baronius* and most Writers commonly assign it to the year of *Christ Forty Four*. But this cannot be, *Peter* not being at *Rome* (from whence it is supposed to have been written) at that time, as we shall see anon. He wrote it to the *Jewish Converts*, dispersed through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and the Countries thereabouts, chiefly upon the occasion of that persecution, which had been raised at *Jerusalem*. And accordingly

cordingly the main design of it is, to confirm and comfort them under their present sufferings and persecutions, and to direct and instruct them how to carry themselves in the several states and relations, both of the Civil and the Christian life. For the place whence it was written, 'tis expressly dated from *Babylon*. But what, or where this *Babylon* is, is not so easie to determine. Some think it was *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and probably *Alexandria*; and that there *Peter* preached the Gospel. Others will have it to have been *Babylon* the ancient *Metropolis* of *Assyria*, and where great numbers of *Jews* dwelt ever since the times of their Captivities. But we need not send *Peter* on so long an Errand, if we embrace the notion of a Learned * man, who by *Babylon* will figuratively understand *Jerusalem*, no longer now the *holy City*, but a kind of spiritual *Babylon*, in which the Church of God did at this time groan under great servitude and captivity. And this Notion of the Word he endeavours to make good, by calling in to his assistance two of the Ancient † Fathers, who so understand that of the Prophet, *We have healed Babylon, but she was not healed*. Where the Prophet (*say they*) by *Babylon* means *Jerusalem*, as differing nothing from the wickedness of the Nations, nor conforming it self to the Law of God. But generally the Writers of the *Romish* Church, and the more moderate of the *Reformed* party, acquiescing herein in the Judgment of Antiquity, by *Babylon* understand *Rome*. And so 'tis plain *S. John* calls it in his *Revelation*, either from its conformity in power and greatness to that ancient City, or from that great *Idolatry* which at this time reign'd in *Rome*. And so we may suppose *S. Peter* to have written it from *Rome*, not long after his coming thither, though the precise time be not exactly known.

* L. Capell.
Append. ad
Hist. App. pag.
42.
† Cyril. Alex.
de Proc. p.
Gaz. in Esa. 53.

Chap. 18. v. 2.
10, 21.

* Hist. Ecc. l. 3.
c. 3. p. 72. Orig.
apud Niceph. l.
5. c. 16. p. 365.
|| Vid. Edv. Po-
cock. Prefat.
ad Epist. Syr. d
se edit.
* Hier. de
script. Eccl. in
Petr.
|| Quæst. 11. ad
Hedib. Tom. 3.
p. 151.

* Annot. in 2.
Petr. c. 1.

† Dr. Ham. in
Argum. Epist.]

2 Petr. 1. 16, 17,
18.

Jud. v. 17, 18.

6. AS for the *Second Epistle*, it was not accounted of old of equal value and authority with the *First*, and therefore for some Ages not taken into the Sacred Canon, as is expressly affirmed by * *Eusebius*, and many of the Ancients before him. The Ancient *Syriack* Church did not receive it, and accordingly it is not to be found in their ancient || Copies of the *New Testament*. Yea, those of that Church at this day do not own it as Canonical, but onely read it privately, as we do the *Apocryphal* Books. The greatest * exception that I can find against it, was the difference of its style from the other Epistle; and therefore it was presumed, that they were not both written by the same hand. But *S. Hierom*, who tells us the objection, does || elsewhere himself return the answer, That the difference in the style and manner of writing might very well arise from hence, that *S. Peter*, according to his different circumstances, and the necessity of affairs, was forced to use several *Amanuenses* and Interpreters; sometimes *S. Mark*, and after his departure some other person, which might justly occasion a difference in the stile and character of these *Epistles*. Not to say, that the same person may vastly alter and vary his style according to the times when, or the persons to whom, or the subjects about which he writes, or the temper and disposition he is in at the time of writing, or the care that is used in doing it. Who sees not the vast difference of *Jeremy's* writing in his *Prophecy*, and in his *Book of Lamentations*? between *S. John's* in his *Gospel*, his *Epistles* and *Apocalypse*? How oft does *S. Paul* alter his style in several of his *Epistles*, in some more lofty and elegant, in others more rough and harsh? Besides hundreds of instances that might be given both in Ecclesiastical and Foreign Writers, too obvious to need insisting on in this place. The Learned * *Grotius* will have this Epistle to have been written by *Symeon*, *S. James* his immediate Successor in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, and that the word [*Peter*] was inserted into the Title by another hand. But as a Judicious † person of our own observes these were but his Posthume Annotations, published by others, and no doubt never intended as the deliberate result of that great man's Judgment: especially since he himself tacitely acknowledges, that all Copies extant at this day read the Title and Inscription as it is in our Books. And indeed there is a concurrence of circumstances to prove *S. Peter* to be the Authour of it. It bears his name in the Front and Title, yea, somewhat more expressly than the former, which has only *one*, this, *both* his Names. There's a passage in it that cannot well relate to any but him. When he tells us that he was present with *Christ* in the *holy Mount*; *When he received from God the Father honour and glory*; *Where he heard the voice which came from Heaven, from the excellent glory*, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*. This evidently refers to *Christ's Transfiguration*, where none were present, but *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, neither of which were ever thought of to be the Authour of this Epistle. Besides, that there is an admirable consent and agreement in many passages between these two Epistles, as it were easie to shew in particular instances. Add to this, that *S. Jude*, speaking of the *Scoffers who should come in the last time, walking after their own*

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own ungodly lusts, cites this as that which had been before spoken by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: wherein he plainly quotes the words of this Second Epistle of Peter, affirming, *That there should come in the last day scoffers, walking after their own lusts.* And that this does agree to Peter, will farther appear by this, that he tells us of these Scoffers, that should come in the last days, that is, before the destruction of Jerusalem (as that phrase is often used in the New Testament) that they should say, *Where is the promise of his coming?* Which clearly respects their making light of those Threatnings of our Lord, whereby he had foretold, that he would shortly come in Judgment for the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish Nation. This he now puts them in mind of, as what probably he had before told them of *Vivâ voce*, when he was amongst them. For so we find he did elsewhere. *Lactantius* assuring us, "That amongst many strange and wonderfull things which Peter and Paul preached at Rome and left upon Record, this was one, That within a short time God would send a Prince, who should destroy the Jews, and lay their Cities level with the ground, straitly besiege them, destroy them with Famine, so that they should feed upon one another: That their Wives and Daughters should be ravished, and their Childrens brains dashed out before their faces: that all things should be laid waste by Fire and Sword, and themselves perpetually banished from their own Country; and this for their insolent and merciless usage of the innocent and dear Son of God. All which as he observes, came to pass soon after their death, when *Vespasian* came upon the Jews and extinguished both their Name and Nation. And what Peter here foretold at Rome, we need not question but he had done before to those Jews, to whom he wrote this Epistle. Wherein he especially antidotes them against those corrupt and poisonous principles, wherewith many, and especially the followers of *Simon Magus*, began to infect the Church of Christ. And this but a little time before his death, as appears from that passage in it, where he tells them, *That he knew he must shortly put off his earthly Tabernacle.*

Lib. 4. cap. 21.
p. 422.

Chap. I. v. 14.

7. BESIDES these Divine Epistles, there were other *supposititious* writings which in the first Ages were fathered upon S. Peter. Such was the Book called his *Acts* mentioned by * *Origen*, || *Eusebius* and others, but rejected by them. Such was his *Gospel*, which probably at first was nothing else but the Gospel written by S. Mark, dictated to him (as is generally thought) by S. Peter; and therefore, as * *S. Hierom* tells us, said to be his. Though in the next Age there appeared a Book under that Title, mentioned by || *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*, and by him at first supposed to be read in the Church; but afterwards upon a more careful perusal of it, he rejected it as *Apocryphal* as it was by others after him. Another was the Book styled *His Preaching* mentioned and quote both by * *Clement Alexandrinus* and by || *Origen*, but not acknowledged by them to be Genuine: Nay, expressly said to have been forged by *Hereticks*, by an ancient (a) Authour contemporary with S. *Cyprian*. The next was his *Apocalypse*, or *Revelation*, rejected, as (b) *Sozomen* tell us by the Ancients as Spurious, but yet read in some Churches in *Palestine* in his time. The last was the Book called *His Judgment*, which probably was the same with that called * *Hermes* or *Pastour*, a Book of good use and esteem in the first times of Christianity, and which, as || *Eusebius* tells us, was not onely frequently cited by the Ancients, but also publicly read in Churches.

* Orig. Tom. 20. in Joan.

|| Euseb. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

* In Petro, ut supra.

|| Apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 12. p. 213.

* Strom. lib. 6. p. 635.

|| in Excerpt. Gra. ex Hypotyp. p. 809.

|| Orig. Tom. 13. in Joan.

(a) De Hæret. non rebapt.

apud Cyprian. p. 142.

(b) Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 19. p. 735.

* Vid. Ruffin. Exposit. Symbol. inter Oper.

Hier. Tom. 4. p. 113.

|| Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

* Comment. de S. Petr. apud Sur. ad diem 29 Jun. n. 2.

|| Ep. ad Julian. Tom. 1. p. 207.

1 Cor. 9. 5.

Vid. Clem. Re. cognit. lib. 7. fol. 76. pag. 2.

* Strom. lib. 7. p. 736.

8. WE shall conclude this Section by considering Peter with respect to his several Relations: That he was married, is unquestionable, the Sacred History mentioning his Wife's Mother: his Wife (might we believe * *Metaphrastes*) being the Daughter of *Aristobulus*, Brother to *Barnabas* the Apostle. And though || *S. Hierom* would persuade us, that he left her behind him, together with his Nets, when he forsook all to follow Christ; yet we know that Father too well, to be over-confident upon his word in a case of Marriage or Single life, wherein he is not over-scrupulous sometimes to strain a point, to make his opinion more fair and plausible. The best is we have an infallible Authority which plainly intimates the contrary, the testimony of S. Paul, who tells us of *Cephas*, that he led about a Wife, a Sister, along with him, who for the most part mutually cohabited and lived together, for ought that can be proved to the contrary. * *Clement Alexandrinus* gives us this account, though he tells us not the time or place, That Peter, seeing his Wife going towards Martyrdom, exceedingly rejoiced that she was called to so great an honour, and that she was now returning home, encouraging and earnestly exhorting her, and calling her by her Name, *and her be mindfull of our Lord.* Such (says he) was the Wedlock of that blessed couple, and the perfect disposition and agreement in those things that were dearest

dearest to them. By her he is said to have had a * Daughter called *Petronilla* (|| *Metaphrastes* adds a Son) how truly I know not. This onely is certain, that * *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons *Peter* for one of the Apostles that was married and had Children. And surely he who was so good a man, and so good an Apostle, was as good in the relation both of an Husband and a Father.

* Bar. ad An.
60. n. 32.
|| Ubi suprà.
* Strom. lib.
3. p. 448.

SECT. XI.

An Enquiry into S. Peter's going to Rome.

Peter's being at Rome granted in general. The account of it given by Baronius and the Writers of that Church rejected and disproved. No foundation for it in the History of the Apostolick Acts. No mention of it in S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. No news of his being there at S. Paul's coming to Rome, nor intimation of any such thing in the several Epistles which S. Paul wrote from thence. S. Peter's first being at Rome inconsistent with the time of the Apostolical Synod at Jerusalem. And with an ancient Tradition, that the Apostles were commanded to stay Twelve years in Judæa after Christ's death. A passage out of Clemens Alexandrinus noted and corrected to that purpose. Difference among the Writers of the Romish Church in their Accounts. Peter's being XXV years Bishop of Rome, no solid foundation for it in Antiquity. The Planting and Governing that Church equally attributed to Peter and Paul. S. Peter when (probably) came to Rome. Different dates of his Martyrdom assigned by the Ancients. A probable account given of it.

1. **I**T is not my purpose to swim against the Stream and Current of Antiquity, in denying Saint *Peter* to have been at *Rome*; an Assertion easilier perplexed and entangled, than confuted and disproved; we may grant the main, without doing any great service to that Church, there being evidence enough to every impartial and considering man, to spoil that smooth and plausible Scheme of Times, which *Baronius* and the Writers of that Church have drawn with so much care and diligence. And in order to this we shall first enquire, whether that account which *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter's* being at *Rome* be tolerably reconcilable with the History of the *Apostles Acts* recorded by *S. Luke*, which will be best done by briefly presenting *S. Peter's* Acts in their just Series and order of Time, and then see what countenance and foundation their Account can receive from hence.

2. **AFTER** our Lord's Ascension, we find *Peter*, for the first year at least, staying with the rest of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. In the next year he was sent, together with *S. John*, by the command of the Apostles, to *Samaria*, to preach the Gospel to that City, and the parts about it. About three years after *S. Paul* meets him at *Jerusalem*, with whom he staid some time. In the two following years he visited the late planted Churches, preached at *Lydda* and *Joppa*, where having tarried many days, he thence removed to *Cæsarea*, where he preached to, and baptized *Cornelius* and his Family. Whence after some time he returned to *Jerusalem*, where he probably staid, till cast into prison by *Herod*, and delivered by the Angel. After which we hear no more of him, till three or four years after we find him in the Council at *Jerusalem*. After which he had the contest with *S. Paul* at *Antioch*. And thence-forward the Sacred Story is altogether silent in this matter. So that in all this time, we find not the least footstep of any intimation that he went to *Rome*. This * *Baronius* well foresaw, and therefore once and again inserts this caution, that *S. Luke* did not design to record all the Apostles Acts, and that he has omitted many things which were done by *Peter*. Which surely no man ever intended to deny. But then that he should omit a matter of such vast moment and importance to the whole Christian World, that not one syllable should be said of a Church planted by *Peter* at *Rome*; a Church that was to be Paramount, the seat of all Spiritual Power and Infallibility, and to which all other Churches were to veil and doe homage; nay, that he should not so much as mention that ever he was there, and yet all this said to be done within the time he designed to write of, is by no means reasonable to suppose. Especially

* Ad An. 39.
num. 12. ad
An. 34. n.
285.

confi-

considering, that S. Luke records many of his journeys and travels, and his preaching at several places, of far less consequence and concernment. Nor let this be thought the worse of, because a *negative* Argument, since it carries so much rational evidence along with it, that any man who is not plainly byassed by Interest, will be satisfied with it.

3. BUT let us proceed a little farther to enquire, whether we can meet any probable footsteps afterwards. About the year *Fifty three*, towards the end of *Claudius* his Reign, S. Paul is thought to have writ his Epistle to the Church of Rome, wherein he spends the greatest part of one Chapter in saluting particular persons that were there; amongst whom it might reasonably have been expected, that S. Peter should have had the first place. And supposing with * *Baronius*, that Peter at this time * *Ad. An. 58. n. 51.* might be absent from the City, preaching the Gospel in some parts in the *West*, yet we are not sure that S. Paul knew of this, and if he did, it is strange that in so large an Epistle, wherein he had occasion enough, there should be neither direct nor indirect mention of him, or of any Church there founded by him. Nay, S. Paul himself intimates, what an earnest desire he had to come thither, that he might impart *un-* *Rom. 1. 10, 11, 12.* to them some spiritual gifts, to the end they might be established in the Faith, for which there could have been no such apparent cause had Peter been there so lately and so long before him. Well, S. Paul himself not many years after is sent to Rome, *Ann. Chr. LVI*, or as *Eusebius*, *LVII*. (though *Baronius* makes it two years after) about the second year of *Nero*; when he comes thither, does he go to sojourn with Peter, as 'tis likely he would, had he been there? No, but dwelt by himself in his own hired house. No sooner was he come, but he called the chief of the Jews together, acquainted them with the cause and end of his coming, explains the Doctrine of Christianity, which when they rejected, he tells them, That *henceforth the salvation of God was sent unto the Gentiles*, who would hear it, to whom he would now address himself. Which seems to intimate, that however some few of the *Gentiles* might have been brought over, yet that no such harvest had been made before his coming, as might reasonably have been expected from S. Peter's having been so many years amongst them. Within the two first years after S. Paul's coming to Rome, he wrote Epistles to several Churches, to the *Colossians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, and one to *Philemon*, in none whereof there is the least mention of S. Peter, or from whence the least probability can be derived, that he had been there. In that to the *Colossians*, he tells them, that of the Jews at Rome, he had had no other fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, which had been a comfort unto him, save onely *Aristarchus*, *Marcus*, and *Jesus* who was called *Justus*, which evidently excludes S. Peter. And in that to *Timothy*, which *Baronius* confesses to have been written a little before his *Martyrdom* (though probably it was written the same time with the rest above mentioned) he tells him, That at his first answer at Rome, no man stood with him, but that all men forsook him. Which we can hardly believe S. Peter would have done, had he then been there. He farther tells him, That onely *Luke* was with him, that *Crescens* was gone to this place, *Titus* to that, and *Tychicus* left at another. Strange! that if Peter was at this time gone from Rome, S. Paul should take no notice of it as well as the rest. Was he so inconsiderable a Person, as not to be worth the remembering? or his errand of so small importance, as not to deserve a place in S. Paul's account, as well as that of *Crescens* to *Galatia*, or of *Titus* to *Dalmatia*? Surely the true reason was, that S. Peter as yet had not been at Rome, and so there could be no foundation for it. *Chap. 4. 10, 11. 1 Tim. 4. 16.*

4. IT were no hard matter farther to demonstrate the inconsistency of that account which *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* give us of Peter's being at Rome, from the time of the *Apostolical Synod* at *Jerusalem*. For if S. Paul went up to that Council *Fourteen* years after his own Conversion, as he plainly intimates; and that he himself was converted *Ann. XXXV*, somewhat less than two years after the death of *Christ*, then it plainly appears, that this council was holden *Ann. XLVIII*, in the sixth year of *Claudius*, if not somewhat sooner, for S. Paul's *δια δεκαμαρτων ετην* does not necessarily imply, that *Fourteen* years were compleatly past, *δια* signifying *circa*, as well as *post*, but that it was near about that time. This being granted (and if it be not, it is easie to make it good) then three things amongst others will follow from it. First, That whereas according to * *Bellarmino* and || *Baronius*, S. Peter after his first coming to Rome (which they place *Ann. XLIV*, and the second of *Claudius*) was seven years before he returned thence to the Council at *Jerusalem*, they are strangely out in their story, there being but three, or at most four years between his going thither, and the

Gal. 2. 17

* Bellarmino. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. c. 6. Col. 615. || Bar. ad An. 39. n. 15.

the celebration of that Council. Secondly, That when they tell * us, that S. Peter's leaving *Rome* to come to the Council, was upon the occasion of the decree of *Claudius*, banishing all *Jews* out of the City, this can no ways be. For † *Orosius* does not only affirm, but prove it from *Josephus*, that *Claudius* his Decree was published in the Ninth Year of his Reign, or *Anno Chr. LI*. Three Years at least after the Celebration of the Council. Thirdly, that when || *Baronius* tells us, that the reason why *Peter* went to *Rome* after the breaking up of the *Synod*, was because *Claudius* was now dead, he not daring to go before for fear of the Decree, this can be no reason at all, the Council being ended at least Three Years before that Decree took place: so that he might safely have gone thither without the least danger from it. It might farther be shewed (if it were necessary) that the account which even they themselves give us is not very consistent with it self. So fatally does a bad cause draw Men whether they will or no into Errors and Mistakes.

THE truth is, the Learned Men of that Church are not well agreed among themselves, to give in their verdict in this case. And indeed, how should they when the thing it self affords no solid foundation for it? *Onuphrius* a man of great Learning and industry in all matters of antiquity, and who (as the * Writer of *Baronius* his Life informs us) designed before *Baronius* to write the History of the Church, goes a way by himself, in assigning the time of S. Peter's founding his See both at *Antioch* and *Rome*. For finding by the account of the Sacred Story, that *Peter* did not leave *Judea* for the Ten first Years after our Lord's Ascension, and consequently could not in that time erect his See at *Antioch*; he affirms that he went first to *Rome*, whence returning to the Council at *Jerusalem*, he thence went to *Antioch*, where he remained Seven Years, till the Death of *Claudius*, and having spent almost the whole Reign of *Nero* in several parts of *Europe*, returned in the last of *Nero's* Reign to *Rome*, and there died. An opinion, for which he is sufficiently chastised by * *Baronius*, and others of that Party. And here I cannot but remark the ingenuity (for the learning sufficiently commends it self) of || *Monsieur Valois*, who freely confesses the mistake of *Baronius*, *Petavius*, &c. in making *Peter* go to *Rome*, *Ann. XLIV*. the Second Year of *Claudius*, whereas it is plain (says he) from the History of the *Acts*, that *Peter* went not out of *Judea* and *Syria*, till the Death of *Herod*, *Claudii Ann IV*. Two whole Years after. Consonant to which, as he observes, is what *Apollonius*, a Writer of the Second Century, reports from a tradition current in his time, that the Apostles did not depart asunder till the Twelfth Year after *Christ's* Ascension, our Lord himself having so commanded them. In confirmation whereof, let me add a passage that I meet with in *Clemens* of * *Alexandria*, where from S. Peter he records this Speech of our Saviour to his Apostles, spoken probably either a little before his Death, or after his Resurrection. *Εάν μὲν ὅτις ἐκ τῆς Ἰσραὴλ μετανοήσῃ, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀποστείλωται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη. Ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν, μή τις εἴπῃ. ἢ κήρυξεν. If any Israelite shall repent, and believe in God through my Name, his sins shall be forgiven him after twelve years? Go ye into the World, lest any should say, we have not heard. This passage, as ordinarily pointed in all Editions that I have seen, is scarce capable of any tolerable sense: for what's the meaning of a penitent Israelite's being pardoned after twelve years? It is therefore probable, yea, certain with me, that the stop ought to be after ἀμαρτίαι, and μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη joined to the following clause, and then the sense will run clear and smooth; If any Jew shall repent and believe the Gospel, he shall be pardoned; but after twelve years go ye into all the World, that none may pretend that they have not heard the sound of the Gospel. The Apostles were first to Preach the Gospel to the Jews for some considerable time, Twelve Years after *Christ's* Ascension, in and about *Judea*, and then to betake themselves to the Provinces of the Gentile World, to make known to them the glad tidings of Salvation; exactly answerable to the Tradition mentioned by *Apollonius*. Besides, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* tells us that *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the Seventh Year of *Claudius*, *Ann. Christi XLIX*. So little certainty can there be of any matter, wherein there is no truth. Nay, the same excellent Man * before-mentioned does not stick elsewhere to profess, he wonders at *Baronius*, that he should make *Peter* come from *Rome*, banished thence by *Claudius* his Edict, to the *Synod* at *Jerusalem*, the same Year, *Ann. Claudii IX*. a thing absolutely inconsistent with that Story of the Apostles *Acts*, recorded by S. Luke, wherein there is the space of no less than Three Years from the time of that *Synod*, to the Decree of *Claudius*. It being evident, what he observes, that after the celebration of that Council, S. Paul went back to *Antioch*, afterwards into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to preach the Gospel; thence into *Phrygia*, *Galatia* and*

* Ibid & Bar.
ad An. 51. n.
1. 3.

† Lib. 7. c. 6.
fol. 297. p. 2.

|| Ad An. 58.
n. 51.

* Hier. Barnab.
de vit. Bar. l.
1. c. 18.

|| Onuphr. An.
not. ad Plat. in
vit. Petr. p. 9.
& in Fast.

* Ad Ann. 39.
N. 12.

|| Annot. ad
Euseb. lib. 2.
c. 16.

* Stromat. lib.
6. p. 636.

* H. Valef. An.
not. in Euseb.
lib. 2. c. 18. p.
37.

and *Mysia*; from whence he went into *Macedonia*, and first Preached at *Philippi*, then at *Theſſalonica* and *Berea* afterwards ſtayed ſome conſiderable time at *Athens*, and laſt of all went to *Corinth*, where he met with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, lately come from *Italy* baniſhed *Rome* with the reſt of the *Jews*, by the Decree of *Claudius*; all which by an eaſie and reaſonable computation can make up no leſs than Three Years at leaſt.

6. THAT which cauſed *Baronius* to ſplit upon ſo many Rocks was not ſo much want of ſeeing them, which a Man of his parts and induſtry could not but in a great meaſure ſee, as the unhappy neceſſity of defending thoſe unſound principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good *Peter's* five and twenty years preſidency over the Church of *Rome*, he was forced to confound times, and diſlocate Stories, that he might bring all his ends together. What foundation this Story of *Peter's* being five and twenty years Biſhop of *Rome*, has in Antiquity, I find not, unleſs it ſprang from hence, that *Eusebius* places *Peter's* coming to *Rome* in the Second Year of *Claudius*, and his Martyrdom in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, between which there is the juſt ſpace of five and twenty years. Whence thoſe that came after, concluded, that he ſate Biſhop there all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in *S. Hierom's* Tranſlation it is expreſſly ſaid, that he continued five and twenty years Biſhop of that City. But then it is as evident, that this was his own addition, who probably ſet things down as the report went in his time, no ſuch thing being to be found in the Greek Copy of * *Eusebius*. Nor indeed does he ever there or elſewhere poſitively affirm *S. Peter* to have been Biſhop of *Rome*, but only that he preached the Goſpel there. And expreſſly || affirms, that he and *S. Paul* being dead, *Linus* was the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*. To which I may add, that when the Ancients ſpeak of the Biſhops, of *Rome*, and the firſt Originals of that Church, they equally attribute the founding and the Episcopacy and government of it to *Peter* and *Paul*, making the one as much concerned in it as the other. Thus * *Epiphanius* reckoning up the Biſhops of that See, places *Peter* and *Paul* in the front, as the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γρηγόρησαν πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, *Peter* and *Paul* *Apoſtles* became the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, then *Linus*, &c. And again a little after, ἡ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπῆς διαδοχὴ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome* was in this manner, *Peter* and *Paul*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, &c. And || *Hegesippus* ſpeaking of their coming to *Rome*, equally ſays of them, that they were *Doctores Chriſtianorum*, ſublimis operibus, clari magisterio, The Inſtructors of the Chriſtians, admirable for miracles, and renowned for their authority. However granting not only that he was there, but that he was Biſhop, and that for five and twenty years together yet what would this make for the unlimited Sovereignty and Univerſality of that Church, unleſs a better evidence than *Feed my ſheep* could be produced for its uncontrollable Supremacy and Dominion over the whole Chriſtian World?

7. THE ſum is this, granting what none that has any reverence for Antiquity will deny, that *S. Peter* was at *Rome*, he probably came thither ſome few Years before his death, joyned with and aſſiſted *S. Paul* in preaching of the Goſpel, and then both ſealed the Teſtimony of it with their Blood. The date of his Death is differently aſſigned by the Ancients. * *Eusebius* places it Anno LXIX, in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, || *Epiphanius* in the Twelfth, that which ſeems to me moſt probable is, that it was in the Tenth, or the Year LXV. which I thus compute: *Nero's* burning of *Rome* is placed by * *Tacitus*, under the conſulſhip of *C. Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius*, about the Month of *July*, that is, Ann. Ch. LXIV. This act procured him the infinite hatred and clamours of the People, which having in vain endeavoured ſeveral ways to remove and pacify he at laſt reſolved upon this project, to derive the *Odium* upon the Chriſtians, whom therefore both to appeaſe the Gods, and pleaſe the People, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and cauſed to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite Tortures. This Perſecution we may ſuppoſe began about the end of that, or the beginning of the following Year. And under this Perſecution, I doubt not, it was that *S. Peter* ſuffered, and changed Earth for Heaven.

* Πέτρος δὲ κορυθαίολος ἦν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐβίβλωσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀπ' οὗ καὶ ἐκράτει τὸν καθολικόν. Χρον. Καν. ad Num. MΓ. p. 204.

* Contr. Carpocrat. Hæref. XXVII. p. 51.

|| De excid. Jud. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 292.

* Chron. p. 162. Hæref. 27. p. 51.

* Annal. lib. 15. c. 38. 41. p. 316, &c.

An Appendix to the preceding Section, containing a Vindication of S. Peter's being at Rome.

S. Peter's being at Rome unjustly question'd. The thing it self sufficiently attested by the authority of the Ancients. The express Testimonies of Papias, Irenæus, Dionysius of Corinth, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Caius and Origen produc'd to that purpose. The exceptions made to these Testimonies shew'd to be weak and trifling by a particular examination of each of them. A good cause needs not be supported by indirect methods. The Church of Rome not much advantaged by allowing this story. The needless questioning a story so well attested makes way for shaking the Faith of all ancient history.

Fred. Spanhem. Dissert. de terminis cre-
dita Petri in
urb. Romam
professione. L.
Bat. edit. 1679.

vid. etiam Brutum Fulmen, or observations on the Bull against Q. Elix. p. 88. &c. Lond. 1681. 4.

1. **FINDING** the truth of what is supposed and granted in the foregoing Section, to wit, S. Peter's going to, and suffering at Rome, not only doubted of heretofore in the beginning of the Reformation, while the paths of antiquity were less frequented, and beaten out, but now again lately in this broad day light of Ecclesiastical Knowledge not only called in question, but exploded as most vain and fabulous, and that especially by a Foreign Professour, of name and note; it may not be amiss, having the opportunity of this impression, to make some few remarks for the better clearing of this matter.

Οὐχ ὡς Πέ-
τρος καὶ Παῦ-
λος διαδόχοι
μας ὡς τὸν ἑ-
κάστον Ἀπόστο-
λον, ἐξ ὧν καὶ
τὰς ἐκκλησίας.
Ep. ad Rom. p. 23.
* Advers. Ha-
res. l. 5. c. 33.
p. 498.
† Lib. 3. cap.
39. p. 110.
|| Ap. Euseb.
lib. 2. c. 15. p.
53.

2. **AND** first, I observe that this matter of fact is attested by Witnesses of the most remote Antiquity, Persons of great eminency and authority, and who lived near enough to those times, to know the truth and certainty of those things which they reported. And perhaps there is scarce any one piece of Ancient Church-history, for which there is more clear, full and constant evidence than there is for this. Not to insist on that passage of Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Romans, which seems yet to look this way; it is expressly asserted by Papias Bishop of Hierapolis or Phrygia, who (as Irenæus * tells us) was Scholar to S. John and Fellow-pupil with S. Polycarp; and though we should with Eusebius † suppose it was not S. John, the Apostle whose Scholar he was, but another surnamed the Elder, that lived at Ephesus, yet will this set him very little lower in point of time. Now Papias says || not only that S. Peter was at Rome, and preach'd the Christian Faith there, but that he wrote thence his First Epistle, and by his authority confirmed the Gospel, which S. Mark, his Disciple and Follower, at the request of the Romans, had drawn up. And that we may see, that he did not carelessly take up these things as Common hear-says, it was his custom where-ever he met with any that had conversed with the Apostles, to pick up what Memoirs he could meet with concerning them, and particularly to enquire what Andrew, what Peter, what Philip, what Thomas or James or the rest of the Disciples of our Lord, had either said or done. Which sufficiently shews what care he took to derive the most accurate notices of these matter.

* Epist. ad
Theodor. p.
196.
|| Ap. Euseb. l.
5. c. 20. p. 188.

|| Adv. Hares.
l. 3. c. 1. p. 229.
* Ibid. c. 3.
p. 232.

† Ap. Euseb.
lib. 2. c. 25.
p. 66.

3. **NEXT** Papias comes Irenæus, a man, as S. Jerom styles * him, of the Apostolick times, and was, he tells us, Papias his own Scholar: however it is certain from his own account † that he was Disciple to S. Polycarp, a man famous for his learning, prudence, gravity and piety throughout the whole Christian World. About the Year CLXXIX. he was made Bishop of the Metropolitan Church of Lyons in France, a little before which he had been dispatch'd upon a message to Rome, and had conversed with the great men there. Now his testimony in this case is uncontrollable; for he says || that Peter and Paul preach'd the Gospel at Rome, and founded a Church there; and elsewhere, * that the Great and most Ancient Church of Rome was founded and constituted by the two glorious Apostles Peter and Paul; And that these blessed Apostles having founded this Church, deliver'd the Episcopal Care of it over unto Linus. Contemporary with Irenæus, or rather a little before him, was Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, a Man of singular eminency and authority in those times, who in an Epistle which he wrote † to the Church of Rome, compares the plantation of Christianity, which Peter and Paul had made both at Rome and Corinth; and says farther, that after they had sown the Seeds of the Evangelical Doctrine at Corinth, they went together into Italy, where they taught the Faith, and suffered Martyrdom.

4. **TO**

4. TOWARD the latter end of the Second Century flourish'd *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, Presbyter of that Church, and Regent of the Catechetick School there, who in his Book of *Institutions*, gives the very same testimony, which we quoted from *Papias* before ||; they being both brought in by *Eusebius* as joint-evidence in this matter. || *Loc. supra citato.* *Tertullian* who lived much about the same time at *Carthage*, that *Clemens* did at *Alexandria*, and had been, as is probable, more than once at *Rome* affirms most expressly * more than once and again, that the Church of *Rome* was happy in having its Doctrine sealed with *Apostolick* Blood, and that *Peter* was crucified in that place, or as he expresses it, *Passioni Dominica adequatus*: that † *Peter* baptized in *Tyber*, as *John* † the Baptist had done in *Jordan*, and elsewhere; || that when *Nero* first dyed the yet tender Faith at *Rome* with the Blood of its Professours, then it was that *Peter* was girt by another, and bound to the Cross. * *De praescript. Heret. cap. 36. p. 215.* † *De Baptism. cap. 4. p. 225.* || *Scorpia. cap. ultimo. p. 500.*

5. NEXT to *Tertullian* succeeds *Caius*, an Ecclesiastical Person, as *Eusebius* calls him, flourishing *Ann CCIV*, in the time of Pope *Zephyrin*; who in a Book which he wrote against *Proclus*, one of the heads of the *Cataphrygian* Sect, speaking concerning the places where the Bodies of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* were buried, has these words, * *I am able to shew the very Tombs of the Apostles; for whether you go into the Vatican, or into the Via Ostiensis, you will meet with the Sepulchres of those that founded that Church*, meaning the Church of *Rome*. The last Witness whom I shall produce in this case is *Origen*, a Man justly revered for his great learning and piety, and who took a journey to *Rome* while Pope *Zephyrin* yet lived, on purpose, as himself tells † us to behold that Church so venerable for its Antiquity; and therefore cannot but be supposed to have been very inquisitive to satisfy himself in all, especially the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of that Place. Now he expressly says || of *Peter*, that after he had preached to the dispersed Jews of the Eastern Parts, he came at last to *Rome*, where, according to his own request, he was crucified with his head downwards. Lower than *Origen* I need not descend, it being granted by those * who oppose this Story, that in the time of *Origen*, the report of *S. Peter's* going to, and suffering Martyrdom at *Rome* was commonly received in the Christian Church. And now I would fain know, what one passage of those ancient times can be proved either by more, or by more considerable evidence than this is: and indeed considering how small a portion of the Writings of those first Ages of the Church has been transmitted to us, there is much greater cause rather to wonder that we should have so many Witnesses in this case, than that we have no more. * *Ap. Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 25. pag. 67.* † *Ib. lib. 6. c. 14. p. 216.*

6. SECONDLY, I observe that the Arguments brought to shake the Credit of this Story, and the Exceptions made to these ancient Testimonies, are very weak and trifling and altogether unbecoming the learning and gravity of those that make them. For Arguments against it, what can be more weak and inconcluding than to assert † the fabulousness of this Story, because no mention is made of it by *S. Luke* in the *Apostolical History*, no footsteps of it to be found in any of *S. Paul's* Epistles written from *Rome*; as if he might not come thither time enough after the accounts of the sacred Story do expire; that || *S. Peter* was never at *Rome*, because *Clemens Romanus* says nothing of it in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, when yet he mentions *S. Paul's* coming to the bounds of the *West*; and what yet is more absurd, because * no notice is taken of it by the *Roman Historians*, who wrote the Acts of that Age, especially *Tacitus*, *Suetonius* and *Dio*: as if these great Writers had had nothing else to do, but to fill their Commentaries with accounts concerning Christians, whom it is plain they despised and scorned, and lookt upon as a contemptible, execrable sort of men, and therefore very little beside the bare mention of them, and that too but rarely, is to be met with in any of their Writings; much less can it be expected that they should give an account of the Accidents and Circumstances of particular Christians: besides that, this whole way of reasoning is negative, and purely depends upon the silence of some few Authours, which can signify nothing where there is such a current and uncontrollable Tradition, and so many positive Authorities to the contrary. And yet these are the best, and almost only Arguments that are offered in this matter. * *Tom. 3. Expositio. sit. in Gen ap. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 71.* † *Span. ib. c. 3. n. 35. p. 130.*

7. AND of no greater force or weight are the Exceptions made to the Testimonies of the Ancients, which we have produced, as will appear by a summary enumeration of the most material of them. Against *Papias* his evidence it is accepted, † that he was *ἑρπιδὲς σμυκεῖς ἔργων*, as *Eusebius* characterizes him, a man of a very weak and undiscerning judgment, and that he derived several things strange and unheard-of from mere Tradition. But all this is said of him by *Eusebius* only upon the account of some doctrinal principles and opinions, and some rash and absurd expositions of our Saviour's

our's Doctrine carelessly taken up from others, and handed down without due examination; particularly his *Millenary* or *Chiliaftick* Notions; but what is this to invalidate his Testimony in the case before us, a matter of a quite different nature from those mentioned by *Eusebius*? May not a man be mistaken in abstruse Speculations, and yet be fit enough to judge in ordinary Cases? as if none but a man of acute parts and a subtil apprehension, one able to pierce into the reasons, consistency and consequences of doctrinal conclusions were capable to deliver down matters of fact, things fresh in memory, done within much less than an hundred years, in themselves highly probable and wherein no interest could be served, either for him to deceive others, or for others to deceive him.

|| *Ib. n. 20. p.*
100.

8. AGAINST *Irenaus* it is put in bar, that || he gave not this testimony, till after his return from *Rome*, that is about an hundred and forty years after *S. Peter's* first pretended coming thither; which is no great abatement in a Testimony of so remote antiquity, when they had so many evidences and opportunities of satisfying themselves in the truth of things which to us are utterly lost; that before his time many frivolous Traditions began to take place, and that he himself is sometimes mistaken: the proper inference from which, if pursued to its just issue, must be this, either that he is always mistaken, or at least that he is so in this.

* *Ib. n. 26. p.*
113.
† *N. 27. p. 113.*

9. THE Authority of *Dionysius* of *Corinth* is thrown off with this, * that it is of no greater value than that of *Irenaus*; that Churches then began to emulate each other, by pretending to be of Apostolical foundation, and that *Dionysius* herein consulted the honour of his own Church, by deriving upon it the Authority of those two great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and in that respect setting it on the same level with *Rome*: which yet is a mere suggestion of his own, and so far as it respects *Dionysius*, is said without any just warrant from Antiquity. Besides his Testimony its self is called in question †, for affirming that *Peter* and *Paul* went together from *Corinth* into *Italy*, and there taught, and suffered Martyrdom at the same time. Against their coming together to *Corinth*, and thence passing into *Italy*, nothing is brought, but that the account which *S. Luke* gives of the Travels and Preachings of these Apostles is not consistent with *S. Peter's* coming to *Rome* under *Claudius*, which let them look to, whose interest it is that it should be so, I mean them of the Church of *Rome*. And for his saying that they suffered Martyrdom $\kappa\tau\iota\ \tau\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, at the same time; it does not necessarily imply their suffering the same day and year, but admits of some considerable distance of time; it being else-where granted || by our Authour, that this Phrase, $\kappa\tau\iota\ \tau\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon$, is oft used in *Josephus*, in a lax sense, as including what happen'd within the compass of some years.

|| *Dissert. de*
Anno Convers.
Paul. n. 17. p.
202.
* *Ubi supr. n.*
18. p. 97.

18. TO enervate the Testimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, it is said *, (with how little pretence of reason, let any man judge) that *Eusebius* quotes it out of a Book of *Clemens*, that is now lost, and that he tells us not whence *S. Clemens* derived the report; that abundance of *Apocryphal* Writings were extant in his time and that he himself inserts a great many frivolous Traditions into his Writings. Which if it were granted, would do no service in this Cause, unless it were asserted, that all things he says are doubtfull or fabulous, because some few are so.

† *Ib. n. 31. p.*
123.

|| *N. 32. p. 125.*

11. MUCH after the same rate 'tis argued † against *Tertullian*, that he was a man of great credulity, that he sets down some passages concerning *S. John*, which are not related by other Writers of those times; that || he was mistaken in our Saviour's Age at the time of his Passion; that he was imposed upon in the account which he says *Tiberius* the Emperour sent to the Senate concerning *Christ*: which forsooth must needs be false, because no mention is made of it by *Suetonius*, *Tacitus* or *Dio*.

* *Ib. n. 28, 29.*

12. THE exceptions to *Caius* are no whit stronger than the former, (*viz.*) * that he flourished but in the beginning of the third Century, when many false reports were set on foot, and that it is not reasonable to believe that in those times of persecution the Tombs of the Apostles should be undefaced, and had in such publick honour and veneration: as if the places where the Apostles were buried could not be familiarly known to Christians, without being commonly shewn to their Heathen Persecutours, or without erecting pompous and stately Monuments over their Graves, to provoke the rage and malice of their Enemies to fall foul upon them.

† *Ib. n. 34. p.*
129.

13. AGAINST *Origen*, nothing is pretended, † but what is notoriously vain and frivolous; as that perhaps his reports concerning the travels of the Apostles are not sufficiently certain; that in some other cases he produces testimonies out of *Apocryphal* Writings; and that many things are reported concerning himself, which are at best obscure and ambiguous, and that *Baronius* and *Valesius* cannot agree about the time.

time of his Journey to *Rome*. I have but lightly touched upon most of these exceptions, because the very mention of them, is enough to supersede a studied and operose Confutation: and indeed they are generally such as may with equal force be levelled almost against any Ancient History.

14. *THIRDLY*, I observe how far zeal even for the best cause may sometimes transport learned Men to secure it by undue and imprudent methods, and such as one would think were made use of rather to shew the *Acumen* and subtilty of the Authour, than any strength or cogency in the Arguments. Plain it is, that they who set themselves to undermine this story, design therein to serve the interests of the Protestant Cause, against the vain and unjust pretences of the See of *Rome*, and utterly to subvert the very foundations of that title whereby they lay claim to S. Peter's Power. This indeed could it be fairly made good, and without offering violence to the authority of those Ancient and Venerable Sages of the Christian Church, would give a mortal blow to the *Romish* Cause, and free us from several of their groundless and sophistical Allegations. But when this cannot be done without calling in question the first and most early Records of the Church, and throwing off the Authority of the Antients, *Non tali auxilio*—Truth needs no such weapons to defend it self, but, is able to stand up, and triumph in its own strength, without calling in such indirect artifices to support it. We can safely grant the main of the story, that S. Peter did go to *Rome*, and came thither *ὁ πῶς* (as *Origen* expressly says || he did) about the latter end of his life, and there suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Christ*; and yet this no disadvantage to ourselves, nay it's that which utterly confounds all their accounts of things, and proves their pretended story of S. Peter's being 25 years Bishop of that See, to be not onely vain, but false, as has been sufficiently shewn in the foregoing Section. But to deny that S. Peter ever was at *Rome*, contrary to the whole stream and current of Antiquity, and the unanimous consent of the most early Writers, and that merely upon little surmises, and trifling cavils; and in order thereunto to treat the Reverend Fathers, whose memories have ever been dear and sacred in the Christian Church, with rude reflections and spiteful insinuations, is a course I confess not over-ingenuous, and might give too much occasion to our Adversaries of the Church of *Rome*, to charge us (as they sometimes do, falsely enough) with a neglect of antiquity, and contempt of the Fathers; but that it is notoriously known, that all the great names of the *Protestant* Party, men most celebrated for learning and piety, have always paid a most just deference and veneration to Antiquity, and upon that account have freely allowed this story of S. Peter's going to *Rome*, as our Authour, who opposes it, is forced to grant *.

Non habere mihi fontem videntur, qui hæc negant, repugnante omni antiquitate: quasi in historia aliunde sapere possimus, quam ex antiquorum monumentis, J. G. Voss. Harm. Evangel. l. 3. c. 4. p. 407.

Omnes Patres magno consensu asseruerunt Petrum Romam esse profectum, eamque Ecclesiam administrasse. Et mihi quidem non facile vellicandus videtur tantus consensus. Chamier. Præfat. Cath. de R. Pontif. l. 13. c. 4. p. 483.

* *Ib. c. n. xi. p. 17.*

15. *FOURTHLY*, It deserves to be considered whether the needless questioning a story so well attested, may not in time open too wide a gap to shake the credit of all History. For if things done at so remote a distance of time, and which have all the evidence that can be desired to make them good, may be doubted of or denied, merely for the sake of some few weak and insignificant exceptions, which may be made against them, what is there that can be secure? There are few passages of Ancient History, against which a man of wit and parts may not start some objections, either from the Writers of them, or from the account of the things themselves; and shall they therefore be presently discarded, or condemned to the number of the false or fabulous? If this liberty be indulged, farewell Church-history; nay 'tis to be feared, whether the Sacred Story will be able long to maintain its Divine Authority. We live in an Age of great Scepticism and Infidelity, wherein men have in a great measure put off the reverence due to Sacred Things; And witty men seem much delighted to hunt out objections, bestow their censures, expose the credit of former Ages, and to believe little but what themselves either see or hear. And therefore it will become wise and good men to be very tender, how they loosen, much more remove the old land-marks, which the Fathers have set, lest we run our selves before we be aware into a labyrinth and confusion, from whence it will not be easie to get out.

The end of S. Peter's Life.

THE

[illegible]

1. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 2. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 3. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 4. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 5. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 6. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 7. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 8. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 9. *Phragmites communis* Pers.
 10. *Phragmites communis* Pers.

[illegible]

The end of S. Peter's Life.

E H T

THE LIFE OF S. PAUL.



He was beheaded by the command of Nero the Roman Emperor. Place this to the Epistle for the Conversion of S. Paul.

St. Paul's Conversion.



Act 9. 3. 4. And as he journeyed he came near to Damascus suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. He fell to the earth & heard a voice saying unto him Saul Saul &c. Ver. 7. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless hearing a voice but seeing no man.

SECT. I.

Of S. PAUL, from his Birth till his Conversion.

S. Paul, why placed next Peter. Tarsus the place of his Birth; an University, and a Roman Corporation. His Parents of the old stock of Israel; descended of the Tribe of Benjamin. Jacob's Prophecy applied to him by the Ancients. His Names; Saul, whence; Paul, when assumed, and why. His Education in the Schools of Tarsus, and in the Trade of Tent-making. The custom of the Jews in bringing up their Youth to Manual Trades. His study of the Law under the Tutorage of Gamaliel. This Gamaliel, who. Why said to have been a Christian. Sitting at the feet of their Masters the posture of learners. His joining himself to the Sect of the Pharisees. An inquiry into the Temper and Manners of that Sect. The fiery Zeal and Activity of his Temper. His being engaged in Stephen's Martyrdom. His violent persecution of the Church. His journey to Damascus. His Conversion by the way, and the manner of it. His blindness. His rapture into the Third Heaven, when (probably.) His sight restored. His being baptized, and preaching Christ.

THOUGH S. Paul was none of the Twelve Apostles, yet had he the honour of being an Apostle extraordinary, and to be immediately called in a way peculiar to himself. He justly deserves a place next S. Peter; for as *in their lives they were pleasant and lovely, so in their death they were not divided*; especially if it be true, that they both suffered not onely for the same cause, but at the same time as well as place. S. Paul was born at *Tarsus*, the *Metropolis* of *Cilicia*; a City infinitely rich and populous, and what contributed more to the fame and honour of it, an *Academy* furnished with Schools of Learning, where the Scholars so closely plied their Studies, that as * *Strabo* informs us, they excelled in all Arts of polite Learning and Philosophy those of other places; yea, even of *Alexandria* and *Athens* it self; and that even *Rome* was beholden to it for many of its best Professours. It was a *Roman Municipium*, or free Corporation, invested with many Franchises and Privileges by *Julius Caesar*, and *Augustus*, who granted to the Inhabitants of it the honours and immunities of Citizens of *Rome*. In which respect S. Paul owned and asserted it as the privilege of his Birth-right, that he was a *Roman* and thereby free from being bound or beaten. True it is that † S. *Hierom* (followed herein by || one, who himself travelled in these parts) makes him born at *Gischalis*, a well fortified Town in *Judea*, which being besieged and taken by the *Roman* Army, his Parents fled away with him and dwelt at *Tarsus*. But besides that this contradicts S. Paul who expressly affirms, that he was born at *Tarsus*, there needs no more to confute this opinion, than that * S. *Hierom* elsewhere flights it as a fabulous report.

* Geograph.
lib. 14. p. 403.

A. 22. 25,
26.

† De Script.
Eccl. in Paul.
|| Bellon Ob-
serv. lib. 2.
c. 99. p. 366.

* Com. in Phi-
lem p. 263.
Tom. 9.

Gen. 49. 27.
† Adv. Marc.
lib. 5. c. 1. p.
461.

2. HIS Parents were *Jews*, and that of the Ancient stock, not entring in by the gate of *profelytism*, but originally descended from that Nation, which surely he means, when he says, That he was an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, either because both his Parents were *Jews*, or rather that all his Ancestors had been so. They belonged to the *Tribe of Benjamin*, whose Founder was the youngest Son of the old Patriarch *Jacob*, who thus prophesied of him. *Benjamin shall raven as a Wolf, in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil*. This propheticall character † *Tertullian* and others after him, will have to be accomplished in our Apostle. As a *ravensing Wolf in the morning devouring the prey*, that is, as a Persecutor of the Churches, in the first part of his life destroying the flock of God: *In the evening dividing the spoil*, that is, in his declining and reduced age, as Doctour of the Nations, feeding and distributing to *Christ's* sheep.

* Prefat. in
Ep. ad Rom.
fol. 132. Tom.
3.

Vid. D. Lightf.
Hor. Heb. in
1. ad Cor. c. 1.
v. 1.

3. WE find him described by two names in Scripture, one *Hebrew*, and the other *Latin*; probably referring both to his *Jewish* and *Roman* capacity and relation. The one, *Saul*, a name frequent and common in the *Tribe of Benjamin* ever since the first King of *Israel* who was of that name, was chosen out of that *Tribe*. In memory whereof they were wont to give their Children this name at their Circumcision. His other was, *Paul*, assumed by him, as some think, at his Conversion, to denote his humility; as others, in memory of his converting *Sergius Paulus* the *Roman* Governour, in imitation of the Generals and Emperours of *Rome*, who were wont from the places and Nations that they conquered, to assume the name, as an additional honour and title to themselves, as *Scipio Africanus*, *Cesar Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Sarmaticus*, &c. But this seems no-way consistent with the great humility of this Apostle. More probable therefore it is, what * *Origen* thinks, That he had a double name given him at his Circumcision; *Saul*, relating to his *Jewish* original; and *Paul*, referring to the *Roman* Corporation, where he was born. And this the Scripture seems to favour, when it says, *Saul, who also is called Paul*. And this perhaps may be the reason why St. *Luke*, so long as he speaks of him as conversant among the *Jews* in *Syria*, styles him *Saul*: but afterwards when he left those parts, and went among the *Gentiles*, he gives him the name of *Paul*, as a name more frequent, and familiarly known to them. And for the same reason no doubt he constantly calls himself by that name in all his Epistles written to the *Gentile-Churches*. Or if it was taken up by him afterwards, it was probably done at his Conversion, according to the custom and manner of the *Hebrews*, who used many times upon solemn and eminent occasions, especially upon their entering upon a more strict and religious course of life, to change their names, and assume one which they had not before.

4. IN his Youth he was brought up in the Schools of *Tarsus*, fully instructed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences, whereby he became admirably acquainted with foreign and external Authors. Together with which he was brought up to a particular Trade and course of life; according to the great Maxim and principle of the *Jews*, That

* He

* *He who teaches not his son a Trade, teaches him to be a Thief.* They thought it not only fit, but a necessary part of Education, for their wisest and most learned *Rabbins* to be brought up to a manual Trade, whereby, if occasion was, they might be able to maintain themselves. Hence (as || *Drusus* observes) nothing more common in their writings, than to have them denominated from their callings, *Rabbi Jose* the Tanner, *Rabbi Jochanan* the Shoemaker, *Rabbi Juda* the Baker, &c. A custom taken up by the Christians, especially the † Monks and Ascetics of the Primitive times, who together with their strict profession and almost incredible exercises of devotion, each took upon him a particular Trade, whereat he daily wrought, and by his own hand-labour maintained himself. And this course of life the Jews were very careful should be free from all suspicion of scandal (as they call * it) a clean, that is honest Trade, being wont to say, That he was happy that had his Parents employed in an honest and commendable Calling; as he was miserable, who saw them conversant in any sordid and dishonest course of Life. The Trade our Apostle was put to, was that of *Tent-making*, whereat he wrought, for some particular reasons, even after his calling to the Apostolate. An honest, but mean course of life, and as † *Chrysostom* observes, an argument that his Parents were not of the nobler and better rank; however, it was an useful and gainful Trade, especially in those war-like Countries, where Armies had such frequent use of Tents.

כל שאינו
מלמד את
בנו אומנות
כאילו
מלמד
ליסטנות
Talm. Tract.
Kiddush. c. 1.
ap. Buxtorf. in
voc.

אומנות
Annot. in
Acts 18. 3.
† Epiph. 80.
p. 451.
* Buxtorf. ubi
supr.
Acts 18. 3.

† De Laud.
S. Paul. Tom. 5.
p. 512.

Acts 22. 3. &
4. 34.

* Clem. Recog-
nit. lib. 1. p.
16, 17.

Ap. Phot.
Cod. CLXXI.
Col. 384. Ex-
tat. Luciani
hæc de re Epist.
ap. Sur. ad 3.
Aug. p. 31. &
Bar. ad Ann.
415.

* Sotah. c. 9.
balac. 15. apud
Lightf. in Hor.
H. in Match.
13. 2.

* Antiq. Jud.
lib. 17. cap. 3.
p. 585.

Id. Ibid. lib.
13. c. 23. p.
463.

5. HAVING run through the whole circle of the Sciences, and laid the sure foundations of humane Learning at *Tarsus*; he was by his Parents sent to *Jerusalem*, to be perfected in the study of the Law, and put under the Tutorage of *Rabban Gamaliel*. This *Gamaliel* was the Son of *Rabban Symeon* (probably presumed to be the same *Symeon* that came into the Temple, and took *Christ* into his arms) President of the Court of the *Sanhedrim*: he was a Doctor of the Law, a Person of great wisdom and prudence, and head at that time of one of the Families of the Schools at *Jerusalem*. A man of chief eminency and authority in the Jewish *Sanhedrim*, and President of it at that very time when our Blessed Saviour was brought before it. He lived to a great Age, and was buried by *Onkelos* the Profelyte, Author of the *Chaldee Paraphrase* (one who infinitely loved and honoured him) at his own vast expence and charge. He it was that made that wise and excellent Speech in the *Sanhedrim*, in favour of the Apostles and their Religion. Nay, he himself is * said (though I know not why) to have been a *Christian*, and his sitting amongst the Senators to have been conniv'd at by the Apostles, that he might be the better friend to their affairs. || *Chrysippus*, *Presbyter* of the Church of *Jerusalem* adds, that he was Brothers son to *Nicodemus*, together with whom he and his son *Abib* were baptized by *Peter* and *John*. This account he derives from *Lucian*, a *Presbyter* also of that Church under *John* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who in an Epistle of his still extant, tells us, that he had this together with some other things, communicated to him in a Vision by *Gamaliel* himself; Which if true, no better evidence could be desired in this matter. At the feet of this *Gamaliel*, *S. Paul* tells us, he was brought up, alluding to the custom of the Jewish-Masters, who were wont to sit, while their Disciples and Scholars stood at their feet. Which honorary custom continued till the death of this *Gamaliel*, and was then left off. Their own * *Talmud* telling us, That since our old *Rabban Gamaliel* died, the honour of the Law was perished, Purity and Pharisaism were destroyed: which the *Gloss* thus explains, That whilst he lived, men were found, and studied the Law standing; but he being dead, weakness crept into the World, and they were forced to sit.

6. UNDER the Tuition of this great Master *S. Paul* was Educated in the knowledge of the Law, wherein he made such quick and vast improvements, that he soon out-stript his fellow Disciples. Amongst the various Sects at that time in the Jewish Church, he was especially Educated in the Principles and Institutions of the Pharisees: Of which Sect was both his Father and his Master, whereof he became a most earnest and zealous Professor. This being, as himself tells us, the strictest Sect of their Religion. For the understanding whereof, it may not be amiss a little to enquire into the Temper and Manner of this Sect. * *Josephus*, though himself a Pharisee, gives this Character of them, That they were a crafty and subtle generation of men, and so perverse even to Princes themselves, that they would not fear many times openly to affront and oppose them. And so far had they insinuated themselves into the Affections and Estimations of the Populacy, that their good or ill word was enough to make, or blast any one with the People, who would implicitly believe them, let their report be never so false or malicious

cious. And therefore *Alexander Jannæus*, when he lay a-dying, wisely advised his Queen by all means to comply with them, and to seem to Govern by their counsel and direction, affirming, that this had been the greatest cause of his fatal miscarriage, and that which had derived the *odium* of the Nation upon him, that he had offended this sort of men. Certain it is, that they were infinitely proud and insolent, surly and ill-natured; that they hated all mankind but themselves, and censured whoever would not be of their way, as a Villain and Reprobate: greatly zealous to gather *Profelytes* to their party, not to make them more religious, but more fierce and cruel, more carping and censorious, more heady and high-minded, in short, *twofold more the children of the Devil, than they were before*. All Religion and kindness was confined within the bounds of their own party, and the first principles wherewith they inspired their new Converts were, That none but they were the godly party, and that all other persons were slaves and sons of the Earth: and therefore especially endeavoured to inspire them with a mighty zeal and fierceness against all that differed from them, so that if any one did but speak a good word of our Saviour, he should be presently excommunicated and cast out, persecuted and devoted to the death. To this end they were wont, not only to separate, but discriminate themselves from the herd and community, by some peculiar notes and badges of distinction; such as their *long Robes*, *broad Phylacteries*, and their *large Fringes* and borders of their Garments, whereby they made themselves known from the rest of men. These dogged and ill-natured principles, together with their seditious, unnatural, unjust, unmerciful, and uncharitable behaviour, which otherwise would have made them stink above-ground in the nostrils of men, they sought to palliate and varnish over with a more than ordinary pretence and profession of Religion: but were especially active and diligent in what cost them little, the outward instances of Religion, such duties especially as did more immediately refer to God, as frequent fasting, and praying, which they did very often, and very long with demure and mortified looks, in a whining and an affected tone, and this almost in every corner of the streets: and indeed so contrived the *scheme* of their Religion, that what they did, might appear above-ground, where they might be seen of men to the best advantage.

7. **THOUGH** this seems to have been the general temper and disposition of the party, yet doubtless there were some amongst them of better and honest principles than the rest. In which number we have just reason to reckon our Apostle: who yet was deeply leavened with the active and fiery *genius* of the Sect; not able to brook any opposite party in Religion, especially if late and novel. Inasmuch that when the Jews were resolved to do execution upon *Stephen*, he stood by and kept the cloaths of them that did it. Whether he was any further engaged in the death of this innocent and good man, we do not find. However this was enough loudly to proclaim his approbation and consent. And therefore elsewhere we find him indicting himself for this fact, and pleading guilty. *When the blood of thy Martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.* God chiefly inspects the heart, and if the vote be passed there, writes the man guilty, though he stir no farther. 'Tis easy to murder another by a silent wish, or a passionate desire. In all moral actions God values the will for the deed, and reckons the man a companion in the sin, who, though possibly he may never actually joyn in it, does yet inwardly applaude and like it. The storm thus begun, encreased a-pace, and a violent persecution began to arise, which miserably afflicted and dispersed the Christians at *Jerusalem*. In which our Apostle was a prime Agent and Minister, raging about in all parts with a mad and ungovernable zeal, searching out the Saints, beating them in the Synagogues, compelling many to blaspheme, imprisoning others, and procuring them to be put to death. Indeed he was a kind of *Inquisitor Hæreticæ pravitatis* to the High-Priest, by whom he was employed to hunt and find out these upstart *Hereticks*, who preached against the Law of *Moses*, and the Traditions of the Fathers. Accordingly having made strange haycock at *Jerusalem*, he addressed himself to the *Sanhedrim*, and there took out a Warrant and Commission to go down and ransack the Synagogues at *Damascus*. How eternally insatiable is fury and a misguided zeal! how restless and unwearied in its designs of cruelty! it had already sufficiently harassed the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*, but not content to have vexed them there, and to have driven them thence, it persecuted them unto *strange Cities*, following them even to *Damascus* it self, whither many of these persecuted Christians had fled for shelter, resolving to bring up those whom

Acts 22. 20.

Acts 9. 1.

whom he found there to *Jerusalem*, in order to their punishment and execution. For the *Jewish Sanhedrim* had not only power of seizing and scourging offenders against their Law, within the bounds of their own Country, but by the connivence and favour of the *Romans*, might send into other Countries, where there were any Synagogues that acknowledged a dependance in Religious matters upon the council at *Jerusalem*, to apprehend them; as here they sent *Paul* to *Damascus* to fetch up what Christians he could find, to be arraigned and sentenced at *Jerusalem*.

8. BUT God who had designed him for work of another nature, and separated Gal. 1. 15. him from his Mothers womb to the preaching of the Gospel, stopt him in his journey. For while he was together with his company travelling on the Road, not far from *Damascus*, on a sudden a gleam of light beyond the splendor and brightness of the Sun, was darted from Heaven upon them, whereat being strangely amazed and confounded, they all fell to the ground, a Voice calling to him, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* To which he replied, *Lord, who art thou?* Who told him, That he was *Jesus* whom he persecuted, that what was done to the members was done to the head, that it was hard for him to kick again the pricks, that he now appeared to him, to make choice of him for a Minister and a Witness of what he had now seen, and should after hear; that he would stand by him, and preserve him, and make him a great instrument in the conversion of the *Gentile* World. This said, He asked our Lord, what he would have him to do? who bad him go into the City, where he should receive his Answer. S. Paul's companions, who had been present at this trans- Acts 22. 9. action, heard the Voice, but saw not him that spoke to him: though elsewhere the Apostle himself affirms, that they saw the light, but heard not the voice of him that spake, that is, they heard a confused sound, but not a distinct and articulate voice; or, more probably, being ignorant of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein our Lord spake to Saint *Paul*, they heard the words, but knew not the sense and the meaning of them.

9. S. PAUL by this time was gotten up, but though he found his feet, yet he had lost his eyes, being stricken blind with the extraordinary brightness of the light, and was accordingly led by his companions into *Damascus*. In which condition he there remained, fasting three days together. At this time, we may probably suppose it was, that he had that vision and ecstasie, wherein he was taken up into the third Heaven, where he saw and heard things great and unutterable, and was fully 2 Cor. 12. 1. instructed in the mysteries of the Gospel, and hence expressly affirms, that he was not taught the Gospel which he preached by man, but by the Revelation of *Jesus Christ*. Gal. 1. 16, 17. There was at this time at *Damascus* one *Ananias*, a very devout and religious man, (one of the seventy Disciples, as the Ancients inform us, and probably the first planter of the Christian Church in this City) and though a Christian, yet of great reputation amongst all the *Jews*. To him our Lord appeared, commanding him to go into such a street, and to such an house, and there enquire for one *Saul* of *Tarsus*, who was now at Prayer, and had seen him in a Vision coming to him, to lay his hands upon him, that he might receive his sight. *Ananias* startled at the name of the man, having heard of his bloody temper, and practices, and upon what errand he was now come down to the City. But our Lord, to take off his fears, told him, that he mistook the man, that he had now taken him to be a chosen vessel, to preach the Gospel both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and before the greatest Potentates upon Earth, acquainting him with what great things he should both do and suffer for his sake, what chains and imprisonments, what racks and scourges, what hunger and thirst, what shipwracks and death, he should undergo. Upon this *Ananias* went, laid his hands upon him, told him that our Lord had sent him to him, that he might receive his sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost, which was no sooner done, but thick films like scales fell from his eyes, and his sight returned. And the next thing he did was to be baptized, and solemnly initiated into the Christian Faith. After which he joyned himself to the Disciples of that place, to the equal joy and wonder of the Church: that the *Wolf* should so soon lay down its fierceness, and put on the meek nature of a *Lamb*; that he who had lately been so violent a persecutor, should now become not a professor only but a preacher of that Faith, which before he had routed and destroyed.

SECT. II.

Of S. Paul, from his Conversion, till the Council at Jerusalem.

S. Paul's leaving Damascus, and why. His three Years Ministry in Arabia. His return to Damascus. The greatness of that City. The design of the Jews to surprize S. Paul, and the manner of his escape. His coming to Jerusalem, and converse with Peter and James. His departure thence. The Disciples first styled Christians at Antioch. This when done, and by whom. The solemnity of it. The importance of the word *χρηματισται*. *Χρηματιστὸς Ἀποστόλων*, what. S. Paul's Journey to Jerusalem with contributions. His voyage to Cyprus, and planting Christianity there. The opposition made by Elymas, and his severe punishment. The Proconsul's conversion. His preaching to the Jews at Antioch of Pisidia. His curing a Cripple at Lystra; and discourse to the people about their Idolatry. The Apostles way of arguing noted; and his discourse concerning the Being and Providence of God illustrated. His confirming the Churches in the Faith. The controversie at Antioch; and S. Paul's account of it in the Synod at Jerusalem.

SAIN T Paul staid not long at Damascus after his conversion, but having received an immediate intimation from Heaven, probably in the *Ecstasie* wherein he was caught up thither, he waited for no other counsel or direction in the case, lest he should seem to derive his Mission and Authority from Men, and being not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision, he presently retired out of the City; and the sooner probably, to decline the *Odium* of the Jews, and the effects of that rage, and malice, which he was sure would pursue and follow him. He withdrew into the parts of Arabia, (those parts of it, that lay next to the *ἡγεα Δαμασκήνη*, the Region of Damascus; nay Damascus it self was sometimes accounted part of Arabia as we shall note by and by from Tertullian) where he spent the first fruits of his Ministry, preaching up and down for three Years together. After which he returned back to Damascus, preached openly in the Synagogues, and convinced the Jews of Christ's Messiahship, and truth of his Religion. Angry and enraged hereat, they resolved his Ruine, which they knew no better way to effect, than by exasperating and incensing the Civil Powers against him. Damascus was a place, not more venerable for its Antiquity, if not built by, at least it gave title to Abraham's Steward, hence called, *Eliezer of Damascus*, than it was considerable for its strength, stateliness and situation: it was the noblest City of all Syria (as * Justin of old, and the Arabian Geographer has since informed us, and the Prophet Isaiah before both calls it *the head of Syria*) seated in a most healthful Air, in a most fruitful Soil, watered with most pleasant Fountains and Rivers, rich in Merchandice, adorned with stately Buildings, goodly and magnificent Temples, and fortified with strong Guards and Garrisons: in all which respects * Julian calls it the *Holy and great Damascus*, *ὁ ἅγιος καὶ μέγας οὐρανίου πόλις*, the Eye of the whole East. Situate it was between Libanus and Mount Hermon, and though probably belonging to Syria, yet Arabia retro deputabatur (as || Tertullian tells us) was anciently reckoned to Arabia. Accordingly at this time it was under the Government of Aretas (Father-in-law to Herod Antipas the Tetrarch, whose Daughter the said Herod had married, but afterwards turned off, which became the occasion of a War between those two Princes) King of Arabia Petraea, a Prince tributary to the Roman Empire. By him there was an *ἐνδοκμης*, or Governor, who had Jurisdiction over the whole Syria Damascena, placed over it, who kept constant Residence in the City, as a place of very great importance. To him the Jews made their address, with crafty and cunning insinuations persuading him to apprehend S. Paul, possibly under the notion of a Spy, there being War at this time between the Romans, and that King. Hereupon the Gates were shut, and extraordinary Guards set, and all Engines that could be laid to take him. But the Disciples to prevent their cruel designs, at Night put him into a Basket, and let him down over the City wall. And the place, we are * told, is still shewed to Travellers, not far from the Gate, thence called S. Paul's Gate at this day.

* G. Sion. &
J. Hefron. de
Urb. Orient.
c. 4. p. 11.

* J. Antioch.
Chron. 45. 2.

|| Dionys. Are
op. de divin.
nomin. c. 8.
pag. 622.

the truth, told him, that the Divine Vengeance was now ready to seize upon him. Upon which he was immediately struck blind. The Vengeance of God observing herein a kind of just proportion, that he should be punished with the loss of his bodily eyes, who had so wilfully and maliciously shut the eyes of his mind against the light of the Gospel, and had endeavoured to keep not only himself, but others under so much blindness and darkness. This Miracle turned the Scale with the *Proconsul*, and quickly brought him over a Convert to the Faith.

Acts 13. 13,
14.

4. A F T E R this success in *Cyprus*, he went to *Perga* in *Pamphylia*, where taking *Titus* along with him in the room of *Mark*, who was returned to *Jerusalem*, they went to *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Pisidia*. Where entering into the Jewish Synagogue on the Sabbath Day after some Sections of the Law were read, they were invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to discourse a little to the People. Which *S. Paul* did in a large and eloquent Sermon, wherein he put them in mind of the many great and particular blessings which God had heaped upon the Jews, from the first Originals of that Nation; that he had crowned them all with the sending of his Son, to be the *Messiah* and the Saviour; that though the Jews had ignorantly crucified this just, innocent Person, yet that God according to his own predictions had raised him up from the dead, that through him they preached forgiveness of sins, and that by him alone it was that Men, if ever, must be justified and acquitted from that Guilt and condemnation, which all the pompous Ceremonies, and Ministeries of the *Mosaick* Law could never do away: That therefore they should do well to take heed lest by their opposing this way of Salvation, they should bring upon themselves that prophetic curse, which God had threatened to the Jews of old for their great contumacy and neglect. This Sermon wanted not its due effects. The *Proselyte-Jews* desired the Apostles to discourse again to them of this matter the next Sabbath Day, the Apostles also persuading them to continue firm in the belief of these things. The Day was no sooner come, but the whole City almost flocked to be their Auditours, which when the Jews saw, acted by a spirit of envy, they began to blaspheme, and to contradict the Apostles, who nothing daunted, told them that our Lord had charged them first to preach the Gospel to the Jews, which since they so obstinately rejected, they were now to address themselves to the Gentiles, who hearing this exceedingly rejoiced at the good news, and magnified the Word of God, and as many of them as were thus prepared and disposed towards eternal life, heartily closed with it and embraced it; the Apostles preaching not there only, but through the whole Country round about. The Jews more exasperated than before, resolved to be rid of their company, and to that end persuaded some of the more devout and honourable Women, to deal with their Husbands, Persons of prime rank and quality in the City, by whose means they were driven out of those parts. Whereat *S. Paul* and *Barnabas* shaking off the dust of their Feet, as a Testimony against their ingratitude and infidelity, departed from them.

Acts 14. 1.

5. T H E next place they went to, was *Iconium*, where at first they found kind entertainment, and good success, God setting a seal to their Doctrine by the Testimony of his Miracles. But here the Jewish malice began again to ferment, exciting the People to sedition and a mutiny against them. Insomuch that hearing of a design to stone them, they seasonably withdrew to *Lystra*: where they first made their way by a miraculous cure. For *S. Paul* seeing an impotent Cripple that had been lame from his Mother's Womb, cured him with the speaking of a word. The People who beheld the Miracle, had so much natural Logick, as to infer, that there was a Divinity in the thing, though mistaking the Authour, they applied it to the Instruments, crying out, That the Gods in humane shape were come down from Heaven; *Paul* as being chief Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the God of speech and eloquence; *Barnabas* by reason of his Age and gravity, they called *Jupiter*, the Father of their Gods; accordingly the Syriack Interpreter here renders *Jupiter* by *ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ* the Lord, or Sovereign of the Gods. The fame of this being spread over the City, the Priest of *Jupiter* brought Oxen, dressed up with Garlands after the Gentile Rites, to the House where the Apostles were, to do Sacrifice to them. Which they no sooner understood, but in detestation of those undue honours offered to them, they rent their cloaths, and told them that they were men of the same make and temper, of the same passions and infirmities with themselves, that the design of their Preaching was to convert them from these vain Idolatries and Superstitions, to the worship of the true God, the great Parent of the World, who though heretofore he had left Men to themselves, to go on in their own ways of Idolatrous worship, yet had he given sufficient evidence of

and much less upon dumb Idols, unable either to make or to help themselves. An argument, which though very plain and plausible, and adapted to the meanest understandings, yet was all little enough to restrain the People from offering Sacrifice to them. But how soon was the Wind turned into another corner? The old Spirit of the Jews did still haunt and pursue them: Who coming from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, exasperated and stirred up the multitude. And they who just before accounted them as Gods, used them now worse, not onely than ordinary men, but slaves. For in a mighty rage they fall upon S. Paul, stone him, as they thought, dead, and then drag him out of the City: Whither the Christians of that place coming, probably to intert him, he suddenly revived, and rose up amongst them, and the next day went thence to *Derbe*.

7. HERE they preached the Gospel, and then returned to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* of *Pisidia*, confirming the Christians of those places in the belief and profession of Christianity, earnestly persuading them to persevere, and not be discouraged with those troubles and persecutions which they must expect would attend the profession of the Gospel. And that all this might succeed the better, with fasting and prayer they ordained Governours and Pastours in every Church, and having recommended them to the Grace of God, departed from them. From hence they passed through *Pisidia*, and thence came to *Pamphylia*, and having preached to the People at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*. And thus having at this time finished the whole circuit of their ministry, they returned back to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the place whence they had first set out. Here they acquainted the Church with the various transactions and successes of their travels, and how great a door had hereby been opened to the conversion of the Gentile World.

Acts 15. 1.

8. WHILE S. Paul staid at *Antioch* there arose that famous controversie about the observation of the *Mosaick Rites*, set on foot and brought in by some Jewish Converts that came down thither, whereby great disturbances and distractions were made in the minds of the People. For the composing whereof the Church of *Antioch* resolved to send Paul and Barnabas to consult with the Apostles and Church at *Jerusalem*. In their way thither, they declared to the Brethren, as they went along, what success they had had in the conversion of the Gentiles. Being come to *Jerusalem*, they first addressed themselves to Peter, James and John, the pillars and principal persons in that place: By whom they were kindly entertained, and admitted to the right hand of fellowship. And perceiving by the account which S. Paul gave them, that the Gospel of the *uncircumcision* was committed to him, as that of the *circumcision* was to Peter: they ratified it by compact and agreement, that Peter should preach to the Jews, and Paul unto the Gentiles. Hereupon a Council was summoned, wherein Peter having declared his sense of things, Paul and Barnabas acquainted them what great things God by their Ministry had done among the Gentiles. A plain evidence, that though uncircumcised, they were accepted by God as well as the Jews with all their legal Rites and Privileges. The issue of the debate was, That the Gentiles were not under the obligation of the law of Moses, and that therefore some persons of their own should be joined with Paul and Barnabas, to carry the Canon and Decrees of the Council down to *Antioch*, for their fuller satisfaction in this matter. But of this affair we shall give the Reader a more distinct and particular account in another place.

SECT.

S E C T. III.

Of S. Paul, from the time of the Synod at *Jerusalem*, till his departure from *Athens*.

S Paul's carrying the Apostolick Decree to Antioch. His contest with Peter; The dissention between him and Barnabas. His Travels to confirm the new-planted Churches. The conversion of Lydia at Philippi. The Jewish Proseuchæ, what; the frequency of them in all places. The dispossessing of a Pythoness. S. Paul's imprisonment and ill usage at Philippi. The great provision made by the Roman Law for the security of its Subjects. His preaching at Thessalonica and Berea. His going to Athens. The fame of that place. His Doctrine opposed by the Stoicks and Epicureans, and why. The great Idolatry and Superstition of that City. The Altar to the Unknown God. This Unknown God, who. The Superstition of the Jews in concealing the Name of God. This imitated by the Gentiles. Their general forms of Invocating their Deities noted. The particular occasion of these Altars at Athens, whence. S. Paul's discourse to the Philosophers in the Areopagus concerning the Divine Being and Providence. The different entertainment of his Doctrine. Dionysius the Areopagite, who. His Learning, Conversion, and being made Bishop of Athens. The difference between him and S. Denys of Paris. The Books published under his Name.

1. SAINT Paul and his Companions having received the Decretal Epistle, returned back to *Antioch*; where they had not been long before Peter came thither to them. And according to the Decree of the Council freely and inoffensively conversed with the Gentiles: Till some of the Jews coming down thither from *Jerusalem*, he withdrew his converse, as if it were a thing unwarrantable and unlawful. By which means the minds of many were dissatisfied, and their Consciences very much ensnared. Whereat S. Paul being exceedingly troubled, publicly rebuked him for it, and that as the case required, with great sharpness and severity. It was not long after, that S. Paul and Barnabas resolved upon visiting the Churches, which they had lately planted among the Gentiles. To which end Barnabas determined to take his Cousin Mark along with them. This, Paul would by no means agree to, he having deserted them in their former journey. A little spark, which yet kindled a great feud and dissention between these two good men, and arose to that height, that in some discontent they parted from each other. So Natural is it for the best of men sometimes to indulge an unwarrantable passion, and so far to espouse the interest of a private and particular humour, or rather to hazard the great Law of Charity, and violate the bands of friendship, than to recede from it. The effect was, Barnabas taking his Nephew, went for *Cyprus*, his Native Country, S. Paul made choice of *Silas*, and the success of his undertaking being first recommended to the Divine care and goodness, they set forwards on their journey. Acts 15. 3.

2. THEIR first passage was into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the Churches as they went along. And to that end they left with them Copies of the Synodical Decrees, lately ordained in the Council at *Jerusalem*. Hence we may suppose it was that he set sail for *Crete*, where he preached and propagated Christianity, and constituted *Titus* to be the first Bishop and Pastour of that Island, whom he left there, to settle and dispose those affairs, which the shortness of his own stay in those parts would not suffer him to doe. Hence he returned back unto *Cilicia*, and came to *Lystra*, where he found *Timothy*, whose Father was a Greek, his Mother a Jewish convert, by whom he had been brought up under all the advantages of a pious and religious education, and especially an incomparable skill and dexterity in the holy Scriptures. S. Paul designed him for the companion of his travels, and a special instrument in the Ministry of the Gospel, and knowing that his being uncircumcised would be a mighty prejudice in the opinion and estimation of the Jews, caused him to be circumcised; being willing in lawful and indifferent matters (such was Circumcision now become) to accommodate himself to mens humours and apprehensions for the saving of their Souls.

3. FROM hence with his company he passed through *Phrygia*, and the Country of *Galatia*, where he was entertained by them with as mighty a Kindness and Veneration Acts 16. 6.

neration, as if he had been an Angel immediately sent from Heaven. And being by Revelation forbidden to go into *Asia*, by a second Vision he was commanded to direct his journey for *Macedonia*. And here it was that S. *Luke* joined himself to his company, and became ever after his inseparable companion. Sailing from *Troas*, they arrived at the Island *Samothracia*, and thence to *Neapolis*, from whence they went to *Philippi*, the chief City of that part of *Macedonia*, and a Roman Colony: where he staid some considerable time to plant the Christian Faith, and where his Ministry had more particular success on *Lydia* a Purple-seller, born at *Thyatira*, baptized together with her whole Family; and with her the Apostle sojourned during his residence in that place. A little without this City there was a *Proseucha*, *Πρόσευχα* as the *Syriack* renders it, an *Oratory*, or *house of Prayer*, whereto the Apostle and his company used frequently to retire, for the exercise of their Religion, and for preaching the Gospel to those that resorted thither. The *Jews* had three sorts of places for their publick worship: The Temple at *Jerusalem*, which was like the *Cathedral*, or Mother-Church, where all Sacrifices and Oblations were offered, and where all Males were bound three times a-year personally to pay their Devotions: Their Synagogues (many whereof they had almost in every place, not unlike our Parochial Churches) where the Scriptures were read and expounded, and the People taught their duty. *Moses of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day.* And then they had their *Proseucha*, (*τὰ κατὰ πόλεις προσευχῆα*, as *Philo* sometimes calls them) or *Oratories*, which were like Chappels of Ease to the Temple and the Synagogues, whither the People were wont to come solemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven. They were built (as * *Epiphanius* informs us) *ἔξω τῆ πόλεως, ἐν αἵρεσι καὶ ἀγροῖσι τόποις*, without the City, in the open Air and uncovered, *τόποι πλατεῖς φόρον δύναν, περισυχῆς ταύτας ἐκδίδαν*, being large spacious places, after the manner of *Fora*, or Market-places, and these they called *Proseucha's*. And that the *Jews* and *Samaritans* had such places of Devotion, he proves from this very place at *Philippi*, where S. *Paul* preached. For they had them not in *Judea* onely, but even at *Rome* it self, where *Tiberius* (as * *Philo* tells *Caius* the Emperour suffered the *Jews* to inhabit the *Transkyberin Region*, and undisturbedly to live according to the Rites of their Institutions, *καὶ περισυχῆς ἔχειν, καὶ συνέναι εἰς αὐτάς, καὶ μέλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἱερῇς ἱεδομῇς, ὅτι δημοσίαι καὶ πλείονον παιδεύοντα φιλοσοφίαν*, and also to have their *Proseucha's*, and to meet in them, especially upon their holy *Sabbaths*, that they might be familiarly instructed in the Laws and Religion of their Country. Such they had also in other places, especially where they had not, or were not suffered to have Synagogues for their publick worship. But to return.

Acts 15. 21.

De vit. Mos.
lib. 3. p. 685.* Adv. Maffal.
Hæres. LXXX.
p. 450.In qua te qua-
ro Proseucha?
Juvenal. Sat. 3.
v. 296.Proseucha Ilo-
cus Judæorum,
ubi orant. Ver.
Schol. ibid.* De Legat. ad
Caium. p. 1014.

4. As they were going to this *Oratory*, they were often followed by a *Pythonesse* a Maid-servant, acted by a Spirit of Divination, who openly cried out, That these men were the servants of the most high God, who came to shew the way of Salvation to the World: So easily can Heaven extort a Testimony from the mouth of Hell. But, S. *Paul*, to shew how little he needed *Satan* to be his witness, commanded the *Demon* to come out, which immediately left her. The evil Spirit thus thrown out of possession, presently raised a storm against the Apostles; for the Masters of the *Damsel*, who used by her Diabolical Arts to raise great advantages to themselves, being sensible that now their gainful Trade was spoiled, resolved to be revenged on them that had spoiled it. Accordingly they laid hold upon them, and dragg'd them before the Seat of Judicature, insinuating to the Governours, that these men were *Jews*, and sought to introduce different customs and ways of worship, contrary to the Laws of the *Roman Empire*. The Magistrates and People were soon agreed, the one to give Sentence, the other to set upon the Execution. In fine, they were stript, beaten, and then commanded to be thrown into Prison; and the Gaoler charged to keep them with all possible care and strictness. Who to make sure of his charge, thrust them into the Inner Dungeon, and made their Feet fast in the Stocks. But a good Man can turn a Prison into a Chappel, and make a den of Thieves to be an house of Prayer. Our Feet cannot be bound so fast to the Earth, but that still our hearts may mount up to Heaven. At midnight the Apostles were over-heard by their Fellow-prisoners, praying, and singing Hymns to God. But after the still voice came the Tempest. An Earthquake suddenly shook the foundations of the Prison, the Doors flew open, and their Chains fell off. The Gaoler awaking with this amazing accident, concluded with himself, that the Prisoners were fled, and to prevent the Sentence of publick Justice, was going to lay violent hands upon himself, which S. *Paul* espying, called out

Milites si ami-
serint custodias
ipsi in pericu-
lum deducuntur.
1. r. 11. ff. de ch-
stod. & exhib.
recor. Tit. 3.

out to him to hold his hand, and told him they were all there. Who thereupon came in to them with a greater Earthquake in his own Conscience, and falling down before them, asked them, *What he should do to be saved*. They told him there was no other way of Salvation for him or his, than an hearty and sincere embracing of the Faith of *Christ*. What a happy change does Christianity make in the minds of Men! How plain does it smooth the roughest tempers, and infill the sweetest principles of civility and good nature! He who but a little before had tyrannized over the Apostles with the most merciless and cruel usage, began now to treat them with all the arts of kindness and charity, bringing them out of the Dungeon, and washing their stripes and wounds, and being more fully instructed in the principles of Christianity, was together with his whole Family, immediately baptized by them. Early in the morning the Magistrates sent Officers privately to release them: Which the Apostles refused, telling them, That they were not only innocent persons, but *Romans*; that they had been illegally condemned and beaten, that therefore their delivery should be as publick, as the Injury, and an open vindication of their innocency, and that they themselves, that had sent them thither, should fetch them thence; for the *Roman* Government was very tender of the lives and liberties of its own Subjects, those especially that were free *Denizens* of *Rome*, every injury offered to a *Roman* being look'd upon as an affront against the Majesty of the whole People of *Rome*. Such a one might not be beaten; but to be scourged, or bound, without being first legally heard and tried, was not only against the *Roman*, but the Laws of all Nations: * and the more publick any injury was, the greater was its aggravation, and the Laws required a more strict and solemn reparation. S. Paul, who was a *Roman*, and very well understood the Laws and Privileges of *Rome*, insisted upon this, to the great startling and affrighting of the Magistrates, who sensible of their error, came to the Prison, and entreated them to depart. Whereupon going to *Lydia's* House, and having saluted and encouraged the Brethren, they departed from that place.

5. LEAVING *Philippi*, they came next to *Thessalonica*, the Metropolis of *Macedonia*; where Paul, according to his custom, presently went to the Jewish Synagogue, for three Sabbath-days, reasoning and disputing with them, proving from the Predictions of the Old Testament, that the *Messiah* was to suffer, and to rise again, and that the Blessed *Jesus* was this *Messiah*. Great numbers, especially of religious *Profelytes*, were converted by his preaching: while like the Sun that melts wax, but hardens clay, it wrought a quite contrary effect in the unbelieving *Jews*, who presently set themselves to blow up the City into a tumult and an uproar, and missing S. Paul (who had withdrawn himself) they fell foul upon *Jason* in whose House he lodged; representing to the Magistrates, that they were enemies to *Cesar*, and sought to undermine the peace and prosperity of the *Roman* Empire. At night Paul and *Silas* were conducted by the Brethren to *Berea*. Where going to the Synagogue, they found the People of a more noble and generous, a more pliable and ingenuous temper, ready to entertain the Christian Doctrine, but yet not willing to take it meely upon the Apostle's word, till they had first compared his preaching with what the Scriptures say of the *Messiah* and his Doctrine. And the success was answerable, in those great numbers that came over to them. But the Jewish malice pursued them still, for hearing at *Thessalonica*, what entertainment they had found in this place, they presently came down, to exasperate and stir up the People. To avoid which S. Paul leaving *Silas* and *Timothy* behind him, thought good to withdraw himself from that place.

6. FROM *Berea* he went to *Athens*, one of the most renowned Cities in the World, excelling all others (says an Ancient * *Historian*) in *Antiquity*, *Humanity* and *Learning*. Indeed it was the great seat of Arts and Learning, and as || *Cicero* will have it, the Fountain whence Civility, Learning, Religion, Arts and Laws were derived into all other Nations. So universally flocked to by all that had but the least kindness for the *Muses*, or good Manners, that he who had not seen *Athens*, was accounted a *Block*; he who having seen it, was not in love with it, a dull stupid *Ass*; and he who after he had seen it, could be willing to leave it, fit for nothing but to be a *Pack-horse*. Here among the several Sects of Philosophers, he had more particular contests with the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*, who beyond all the rest seemed enemies to Christianity. The *Epicureans*, because they

Istalia primum est majorum nostrorum Quirites, qui lenitate legum vestram libertatem multum esse voluerunt. Quamobrem inviolatum corpus omnium civium Romanorum integrum libertatis defendo servari oportere. Porcia Lex virgas ab omnium civium Rom. Corpore amovit. O. Gracchus legem tulit, ne de capite civium Rom. iussu vestro judicaretur. Cicero. Orat. pro C. Rabir. p. 314. Tom. 2.

* L. 7. ff. de injuriis. lib. 49. Tit. 10.

Acts 17. 15.

* C. Nep. in

vit. Attic. c. 3.

p. 267.

|| Orat. pro Flac.

Tom. 2.

Εἰ μὴ τεθήσκει τὰς Ἀθήνας, εὐλεχέει.

Εἰ ὅτε τεθήσκει, μὴ τεθήσκει δ' ὅτε.

Εἰ δ' ἂν εὐλεχέειν ἀποτρέχει, καὶ δὴ λυγρὸν.

Lyfipp. Comic. apud Dicæarch. de vit. Grac.

d Steph. edit. cap. 3. p. 18.

they found their pleasant and jovial humour, and their loose and exorbitant course of life, so much checked and controlled by the strict and severe Precepts of *Christ*, and that Christianity so plainly and positively asserted a Divine Providence, that governs the World, and that will adjudge to men suitable rewards and punishments in another World. The *Stoicks* on the other hand, though pretending to Principles of great and uncommon rigour and severity, and such as had nearest affinity to the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, yet found themselves aggrieved with it: That meek and humble temper of mind, that modesty and self-denial, which the Gospel so earnestly recommends to us, and so strictly requires of us, being so directly contrary to the immoderate pride and ambition of that Sect, who beyond all proportions of reason were not ashamed to make their *wife man* equal to, and in some things to exceed God himself.

Tantum sapienti sua quantum deo omnis atas patet. Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedit Deum. ille natura beneficio non timet, suo sapiens. Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem Dei. Senec. Epist. 53. p. 131. Solebat Sextius dicere, Jovem plus non posse, quam bonum virum. Plura Jupiter habet, quae praestat hominibus: sed inter duos bonos non est melior, qui locupletior. Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihilo se minoris aestimat, quod virtutes ejus spatio brevior clauduntur. Id. Epist. 73. p. 203.

7. WHILE S. Paul staid at *Athens* in expectation of *Silas* and *Timothy* to come to him he went up and down to take a more curious view and survey of the City; which he found miserably overgrown with Superstition and Idolatry, as indeed *Athens* was noted by all their own Writers for far greater num-

Αἰσχύνη μοι καὶ πρότερον ὡς Ἀθηναῖοις περιεσφαιγμένη τὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὰ θεῖα ὄψιν. Paulan. lib. 1. p. 42. τὴν δὲ εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθίστηεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς θεῖς ἐπιστῆναι ἄλλων πλὴν. Id.

Θεοὶ ξηνοὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους τιμῶνται, ὅς καταλύει Ἀπολλωνίου ἐν Κρησὺ. He-sych. in voc. Θεοί. p. 438.

αἰεὶ δὲ διορρήσαντες οὐ μὴδ' ἄνδ' ἄρχαίης φιλοπονεῖν θεῖς εἰσὶ ποτίται. Nonn. Dionys. lib. 38. p. 542.

** Geograph. lib. 10. p. 325. Himer. Orat. in Epicur. ap. Phot. Cod. CCXLIII. col. 1086.*

bers of *Deities* and *Idols* than all *Greece* besides. They were ὡς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενῶντες, ὅτω καὶ περὶ τὴν θεῖν πλάττειν τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδίδξαντο, as * *Strabo* notes; Not more fond of strangers and novelties in other things, than forward to comply with novelties in Religion, ready to entertain any Foreign Deities and Rites of worship; no Divinity that was elsewhere adored, coming amiss to them. Whence *Athens* is by || one of their own *Oratours* styled, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον κεφάλαιον, the great Sum and Centre of Piety and Religion: And he there aggravates the Impiety of *Epicurus*, in speaking unworthily and irreverently of the Gods, from the place

where he did it; at *Athens*, a place so pious, so devoted to them. Indeed herein justly commendable, that they could not brook the least dishonourable reflection upon any Deity, and therefore * *Apollonius Tyanaeus* tells *Timasion*, that the safest way was to speak well of all the Gods, and especially at *Athens*, where *Altars* were dedicated even to *Unknown Gods*. And so S. Paul here found it, for among the several Shrines and places of Worship and Devotion, he took more particular notice of one *Altar* inscrib'd *To the unknown God*. The intire *Inscription*, whereof the *Apostle* quotes only part of the last words, is thought to have been this,

** Philostor. de vit. Apollon. lib. 6. cap. 2. p. 262. ex eo, Suid. in voc. Τιμασίαν.*



Oecumen.
Schol. in Act.
17. p. 137.

To the Gods of Asia, Europe and Africa, to the strange and UNKNOWN GOD.

Saint * Hierom represents it in the same manner, onely makes it Gods in the plural number, which because, says he, S. Paul needed not, he onely cited it in the singular. Which surely he affirms without any just ground and warrant: though it cannot be denied, but that Heathen Writers make frequent mention of the Altars of Unknown Gods, that were at Athens, as there want not others who speak of some erected there to an Unknown God. This Notion the Athenians might probably borrow from the Hebrews, who had the Name of God in great secrecy and veneration. This being one of the Titles given him by the Prophet *Isa. 45. 14.* *a hidden God, or a God that hides himself.* Sure I am that || Justin Martyr tells us, that one of the principal Names given to God by some of the Heathens, was *ἄγνωστος*, one altogether hidden. Hence the Egyptians probably derived their great God Ammon, or more truly Amun, which signifies occult, or hidden. Accordingly in this passage of Saint Paul the Syriack Interpreter renders it, the Altar *ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ*, of the hidden God. The Jews were infinitely superstitious in concealing the Name of God, not thinking it lawful ordinarily to pronounce it. This made the Gentiles, strangers at best both to the Language and Religion of the Jews, at a great loss by what Name to call him, one styling him in general an uncertain, unspeakable, invisible Deity; whence * Catigula in his ranting Oration to the Jews, told them, that wretches as they were, though they refused to own him, whom all others had confessed to be a Deity, yet they could worship *ἄγνωστον ὄντα*, their own nameless God. And hence the Gentiles derived their custom of keeping secret the name of their Gods; Thus (a) Plutarch tell us of the Tutelar Deity of Rome, that it was not lawful to name it, or so much as to enquire what Sex it was of, whether God or Goddess; and that for once revealing

Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πολλὰν τοῦ ἁγίου ἰσχυρὰν ἀποδείξιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Δεῶς ἑαυτοῦ (ὡς καὶ παλαιὸς ἱμαίς Ἀμμὼνα δεικνύσκει) Μαννῶν δὲ ὁ Σεβαστὸς καὶ καρυμβοῦν οἰοῖται, καὶ ἡ χρυσὴ ἰστὶν οὗτο τὰύτης δεικνύσκει ἡ φωνή. Plutarchi lib. de Isid. & Osir. p. 354.

dedita sacris Incerti Judda Dei. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 2. incertum Mosis nomen. Trebel. Poll. in vit. Claud. c. 2. p. 800.

Juddi mente sola, unumque nomen intelligunt; summum illud & æternum, neque mutabile, neque interiturum. Tacit. Histor. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 535.

* Phil. de legat. ad Cai. p. 1041.

(a) Quæst. Rom. p. 279. vid. Serv. ad illud Virgil Georgic. lib. 4. Diu patii dignes, &c.

ling

ling it, *Valerius Soranus*, though *Tribune* of the People, came to an untimely end, and was crucified, the vilest and most dishonourable kind of Death. Whereof among other reasons he assigns this, that by concealing the Author of their publick safety, *μη μόνον τῷτον ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτῶν τῆς θύης πρᾶσαι*, not he onely, but all the other Gods might have due honour and worship paid to them. Hence in their publick adorations, after the Invocation of particular Deities, they were wont to add some more general and comprehensive form, as when *Cicero* had been making his address to most of their particular Gods, he concludes with a * *Ceteros item Deos,*

* In Verr. Accus. 7. p. 223. Post specialem invocationem, transit ad generalitatem, ne quod numen pratereat, more Pontificum per quos ritu veteri in omnibus sacris, post speciales Deos, quos ad ipsum sacrum, quod fiebat, necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur. Serv. in illud Virgil. Georg. lib. 1. Dique Deaque omnes.

|| Homil. 38. in Act. p. 705.

Deaque omnes imploro atque obtestor. Usually the form was *DII DEAEQUE OMNES.* The reason whereof was this, that not being assured many times what that peculiar Deity was, that was proper to their purpose, or what numbers of Gods there were in the World, they would not affront or offend any, by seeming to neglect and pass them by. And this || *Chrysostom* thinks to have been particularly designed in the erection of this *Athenian Altar*, *μήποτε καὶ ἄλλός*

τις ἢ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐδέστω γνώριμος, δεσπομένης δὲ ἄλλας, they were afraid lest there might be some other Deity (besides those whom they particularly worshipped) as yet unknown to them, though honoured and adored elsewhere, and therefore *ὕπερ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας*, for the more security, they dedicated an Altar to the unknown God. As for the particular occasion of erecting these Altars at Athens (omitting that of *Pan's* appearing to *Philippides*, mentioned by *Oecumenius*) the most probable seems to be this. When a great Plague raged at * Athens, and several means had been attempted for the removal of it, they were advised by *Epimenides* the Philosopher, to build an Altar, and dedicate it *τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ*, to the proper and peculiar Deity, to whom it did appertain, be he what he would. A course which proving successful, no doubt gave occasion to them by way of gratitude to erect more shrines to this unknown God. And accordingly *Laertius* who lived long after S. Paul's time, tells us that there were such nameless Altars (he means such as were not inscribed to any particular Deity) in and about Athens in his days, as Monuments of that eminent deliverance.

* Laert lib. 1. in vit. Epimen. p. 78.

7. BUT whatever the particular cause might be, hence it was that S. Paul took occasion to discourse of the true, but to them unknown God. For the Philosophers had before treated him with a great deal of scorn and derision, asking what that idle and prating fellow had to say to them? Others looking upon him as a propagator of new and strange Gods, because he preached to them *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, or the Resurrection, which they looked upon as two upstart Deities, lately come into the World. Hereupon they brought him to the place, where stood the famous Senate-house of the *Areopagites*, and according to the *Athenian* humour, which altogether delighted in curious novelties, running up and down the Forum, and places of publick concourse to see any strange accident, or hear any new report (a Vice which their own great * Oratour long since taxed them with) they asked him, what that new and strange Doctrine was, which he preached to them? Whereupon, in a neat and elegant discourse he began to tell them, he had observed how much they were over-run with *superstition*, that their zeal for Religion was indeed generous and commendable, but which miserably over-shot its due measures and proportions; that he had taken notice of an Altar among them Inscribed, *To the unknown God*, and therefore in compassion to their blind and misguided zeal, he would declare unto them the Deity which they ignorantly worshipped; and that this was no other than the great God, the Creator of all things, the Supreme Governour and Ruler of the World, who was incapable of being confined within any Temple or humane Fabrick: That no Image could be made as a proper Instrument to represent him; that he needed no Gifts or Sacrifices, being himself the Fountain, from whence Life, Breath, and all other blessings were derived to particular Beings: That from one common Original he had made the whole Race of Mankind, and had wisely fixed and determined the times and bounds of their habitation: And all to this end, that Men might be the stronglier obliged to seek after him, and sincerely to serve and worship him. A duty which they might easily attain to (though otherwise sunk into the deepest degeneracy, and overspread with the grossest darkness) he every where affording such palpable evidences of his own Being and Providence, that he seemed to stand near, and touch us; it being intirely from him, that we derive our life, motion and subsistence. A thing acknowledged even by their own Post, that *We also are his Offspring.* If therefore God

* Τοῦτον χεῖρον οὐκ ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἂν καδῆδε, ἀκούσας ἢν προσεγγιζοῦντι τινὲς αὐτοῦ. Demosth. Philipp. 4. p. 53.

οὐδὲν δὲ διδοὶ καὶ κινήματα καὶ ἄρτους. TOT GAP KAI GENOS ESMEN. ὁ Νῦν δὲ Δέξαι σπέρμα. Arat. Pha. in prin. ἀνδραγον

was

was our Creatour, it was highly unreasonable, to think that we could make any Image or Representation of Him: That it was too long already, that the Divine Patience had born with the manners of Men, and suffered them to go on in their

blind Idolatries, that now he expected a general repentance and reformation from the World, especially having by the publishing of his Gospel put out of all dispute the case of a future Judgment, and particularly appointed the Holy Jesus to be the Person that should sentence and judge the World: By whose Resurrection he had given sufficient evidence and assurance of it. No sooner had he mentioned the Resurrection, but some of the Philosophers (no doubt *Epicureans*, who were wont to laugh at the notion of a future state) mocked and derided him, others more gravely answered, that they would hear him again concerning this matter. But his discourse however scorned and slighted, did not wholly want its desired effect, and that upon some of the greatest quality and rank among them. In the number of whom was *Dionysius* one of the grave Senators and Judges of the *Areopagus*, and *Damaris*, whom the Ancients* not impro-

σι. πρὸς τὸ παλὴν ἀνδρῶν τε θειῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα ἐδιδασκάλεισεν πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βιοφιλῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κληθείησαν; αὐτὸν παλῆος καὶ δεινὸν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ λόγῳ. Schol. ibid:

* Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. 4: c. 7. p. 67. T. 4:

8. THIS *Dionysius* was bred at *Athens*, in all the learned Arts and Sciences; at five and twenty Years of Age, he is said to have travelled into *Egypt*, to perfect himself in the study of *Astrology*, for which that Nation had the credit and renown. Here beholding the miraculous Eclipse that was at the time of our Saviour's Passion, he concluded that some great accident must needs be coming upon the World. Returning to *Athens*, he became one of the Senators of the *Areopagus*, disputed with *S. Paul*, and was by him converted from his Errours and Idolatry; and being thoroughly instructed, was by him (as the* Ancients inform us) made the first Bishop of *Athens*. As for those that tell us, that he went afterwards into *France* by the direction of *Clemens* of *Rome*, planted Christianity at, and became Bishop of *Paris*, of his suffering Martyrdom there under *Domitian*, his carrying his Head for the space of two Miles in his Hand, after it had

Vid. inter alios Suid. in voc. Διονύσιος.

* Dionys. Corinth Episc. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 4: p. 74. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 144. || Martyrium S. Dionys. per S. Metaph. ap. Sur ad diem 9. Octob. Epist. Hilduin. Abb. & Hincm. Rheimsensem passio ejus aliisque ibid. Niceph. lib. 2: c. 20. p. 167.

been cut off, and the rest of his Miracles done before, and after his Death, I have as little leisure to enquire into them, as I have faith to believe them. Indeed the foundation of all is justly denied, viz. that ever he was there, a thing never heard of till the times of *Charles the Great*, though since that, Volumes have been written of this Controversie, both heretofore and of later times, among which *J. Sirmondus* the Jesuit, and *Monsieur Launoy*, one of the Learned Doctors of the *Sorbon*, have unanswerably proved the *Athenian* and *Parisian Dionysius*, to be distinct Persons. For the Books that go under his name, *M. Daille* has sufficiently evinced them to be of a date many Hundred Years younger than *S. Denys*, though I doubt not but they may claim a greater Antiquity, than what he allows them. But whoever was their Author, I am sure *Suidas* has over stretched the praise of them beyond all proportion, when he gives them this character, ἡ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς καλλῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων λόγων, ἡ τὰ βέλτε καὶ νομίζων, ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσει ταῦτα νομίζοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος ἀληθείας ἡ δεινότητος, that whoever considers the elegance of his Discourses, and the profoundness of his Notions and Speculations, must needs conclude that they are not the issue of any Humane Understanding, but of some Divine and Immaterial Power. But to return to our Apostle.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of S. Paul's Acts at *Corinth* and *Ephesus*.

S. Paul's arrival at *Corinth*. The opposition made by the Jews. The success of his Preaching upon others. His first Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, when written. His Arraignment before *Gallio*. The second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and the design of it. S. Paul's voyage to *Jerusalem*. His coming to *Ephesus*. Disciples baptized into John's Baptism. S. Paul's preaching at *Ephesus*, and the Miracles wrought by him. *Ephesus* noted for the study of Magick. Jews eminently versed in Charms and Inchantments. The Original of the Mystery, whence pretended to have been derived. The ill attempt of the Sons of *Scæva* to dispossess Dæmons in the name of Christ. S. Paul's Doctrine greatly successful upon this sort of Men. Books of Magick forbidden by the Roman Laws. S. Paul's Epistle to the *Galatians*, why, and when written. *Diana's Temple* at *Ephesus*, and its great stateliness and magnificence. The mutiny against S. Paul raised by *Demetrius*, and his party. S. Paul's first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, upon what occasion written. His Epistle to *Titus*. *Apollonius Tyanæus*, whether at *Ephesus* at the same time with S. Paul. His Miracles pretended to be done in that City.

Acts 18. 1.

1. AFTER his departure from *Athens*, he went to *Corinth*, the Metropolis of *Greece*, and the residence of the Proconsul of *Achaia*: where he found *Aquila* and *Priscilla* lately come from *Italy*, banished out of *Rome* by the Decree of *Claudius*: And they being of the same trade and profession, wherein he had been educated in his youth, he wrought together with them, lest he should be unnecessarily burthensome unto any, which for the same reason he did in some other places. Hither, after some time, *Silas* and *Timothy* came to him. In the Synagogue he frequently disputed with the Jews and Profelytes, reasoning and proving, that *Jesus* was the true *Messiah*. They, according to the nature of the Men, made head and opposed him, and what they could not conquer by argument and force of reason, they endeavoured to carry by noise and clamour, mixed with blasphemies and revilings, the last refuges of an impotent and baffled Cause. Whereat to testify his resentment, he shook his Garments and told them, since he saw them resolved to pull down vengeance and destruction upon their own heads, he for his part was guiltless and innocent, and would henceforth address himself unto the *Gentiles*. Accordingly he left them, and went into the House of *Justus*, a religious Profelyte, where by his preaching, and the many Miracles which he wrought, he converted great Numbers to the Faith. Amongst which were *Crispus* the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue, *Gains* and *Stephanus*, who together with their Families embraced the Doctrine of the Gospel, and were baptized into the Christian Faith. But the constant returns of malice and ingratitude are enough to tire the largest Charity, and cool the most generous resolution: Therefore that the Apostle might not be discouraged by the restless attempts and machinations of his enemies, our Lord appeared to him in a Vision, told him that notwithstanding the bad success he had hitherto met with, there was a great Harvest to be gathered in that place, that he should not be afraid of his enemies, but go on to preach confidently and securely, for that he himself would stand by him and preserve him.

2. ABOUT this time, as is most probable, he wrote his first Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, *Silas* and *Timothy* being lately returned from thence, and having done the message for which he had sent them thither. The main design of the Epistle, is to confirm them in the belief of the Christian Religion, and that they would persevere in it, notwithstanding all the afflictions and persecutions, which he had told them would ensue upon their profession of the Gospel, and to instruct them in the main duties of a Christian and Religious Life. While the Apostle was thus employed, the malice of the Jews was no less at work against him, and universally combining together, they brought him before *Gallio* the Proconsul of the Province, elder Brother to the famous *Seneca*: Before him they accused the Apostle as an Innovator in Religion, that sought to introduce a new way of worship, contrary to what was established by the Jewish Law, and permitted by the Roman Powers. The Apostle was ready to have pleaded his

his own cause, but the *Proconsul* told them, that had it been a matter of right or wrong, that had fall'n under the cognizance of the Civil Judicature, it had been very fit and reasonable that he should have heard and determined the case, but since the controversy was only concerning the *Punctilio's* and niceties of their Religion, it was very improper for him to be a Judge in such matters. And when they still clamoured about it, he threw out their Indictment, and commanded his Officers to drive them out of Court. Whereupon some of the Towns-men seized upon *Softhenes*, one of the Rulers of the *Jewish* Consistory, a Man active and busie in this Insurrection, and beat him even before the Court of Judicature, the *Proconsul* not at all concerning himself about it. A year and an half *S. Paul* continued in this place, and before his departure thence, wrote his *second Epistle* to the *Theffalonians*, to supply the want of his coming to them, which in his former he had resolved on, and for which, in a manner, he had engaged his promise. In this therefore he endeavours again to confirm their minds in the truth of the Gospel, and that they would not be shaken with those troubles which the wicked unbelieving *Jews* would not cease to create them; a lost and undone race of Men, and whom the Divine Vengeance was ready finally to overtake. And because some passages in his former Letter, relating to this destruction, had been mis-understood, as if this day of the Lord were just then at hand, he rectifies those mistakes, and shews what must precede our Lord's coming unto Judgment.

3. *S. PAUL* having thus fully planted and cultivated the Church at *Corinth*, resolved now for *Syria*. And taking along with him *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, at *Cenchrea*, the Port and Harbour of *Corinth*, *Aquila* (for of him it is certainly to be understood) shaved his head, in performance of a *Nazarite-Vow* he had formerly made, the time whereof was now run out. In his passage into *Syria* he came to *Ephesus*, where he preached a while in the Synagogue of the *Jews*. And though desired to stay with them, yet having resolved to be at *Jerusalem* at the *Passover* (probably that he might have the fitter opportunity to meet his friends, and preach the Gospel to those vast numbers that usually flock'd to that great solemnity) he promised that in his return he would come again to them. Sailing thence, he landed at *Cesarea*, and thence went up to *Jerusalem*, where having visited the Church, and kept the *Feast*, he went down to *Antioch*. Here having staid some time, he traversed the Countries of *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, confirming, as he went, the new-converted Christians, and so came to *Ephesus*; where, finding certain Christian Disciples, he enquired of them, whether, since their conversion, they had received the miraculous gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost. They told him, that the Doctrine which they had receiv'd had nothing in it of that nature, nor had they ever heard that any such extraordinary Spirit had of late been bestowed upon the Church. Hereupon he farther enquired, unto what they had been baptized (the *Christian* Baptism being administred in the name of the Holy Ghost?) They answered, they had received no more than *John's* Baptism; which though it obliged Men to Repentance, yet did it explicitly speak nothing of the Holy Ghost, or its gifts and powers. To this the Apostle replied, That though *John's* Baptism did openly oblige to nothing but Repentance, yet that it did implicitly acknowledge the whole Doctrine concerning *Christ* and the Holy Ghost. Whereto they assenting, were solemnly initiated by *Christian* Baptism, and the Apostle laying his hands upon them, they immediately received the Holy Ghost, in the gift of Tongues, Prophecy, and other miraculous powers conferred upon them.

4. AFTER this he entred into the *Jewish* Synagogues, where for the first three months he contended and disputed with the *Jews*, endeavouring with great earnestment and resolution to convince them of the truth of those things that concerned the *Christian* Religion. But when instead of success, he met with nothing but refractariness and infidelity, he left the Synagogue, and taking those with him whom he had converted, instructed them, and others that resorted to him, in the School of one *Tyrannus*, a place where Scholars were wont to be educated and instructed. In this manner he continued for two years together: In which time the *Jews* and *Profelytes* of the whole *Proconsular Asia* had opportunity of having the Gospel preached to them. And because Miracles are the clearest evidence of a Divine Commission, and the most immediate Credentials of Heaven, those which do nearest affect our senses, and consequently have the strongest influence upon our minds, therefore God was pleased to ratifie the doctrine which *S. Paul* delivered by great and miraculous operations; and those of somewhat a more peculiar and extraordinary nature. Insomuch that he did not only heal those that came to him, but if Napkins or Handkerchiefs were but touched by him, and applied unto the sick, their diseases immediately vanished,

shed, and the *Demons* and evil Spirits departed out of those that were possessed by them.

Ἐφεσία
γεόμματα ἐ-
πωδαί τινες
δυσσεύοντες
θνητοί. Suid.
in voc. Ἐφεσ.
γεόμμ.
vid. Clem.
Alex. Strom. l.
1. p. 305, 306.
* Antiq. Jud.
l. 8. cap. 2. p.
257.

5. *EPHESUS*, above all other places in the World, was noted of old for the study of *Magick*, and all secret and hidden Arts, whence the *Ἐφεσία γεόμματα* so often spoken of by the Ancients, which were certain obscure and mystical Spells and Charms, by which they endeavoured to heal Diseases and drive away evil Spirits, and do things beyond the reach and apprehensions of common People. Besides other Professors of this black Art, there were at this time at *Ephesus* certain *Jews*, who dealt in the arts of Exorcism and Incantation; a craft and mystery which * *Josephus* affirms to have been derived from *Solomon*; who, he tells us, did not only find it out, but composed forms of Exorcism and Inchantment, whereby to cure Diseases, and expel *Demons*, so as they should never return again; and adds, *Ἐ αὐτὴν μὲχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ δεισιμασία πλείστον ἔχει*, That this Art was still in force among the *Jews*: Instances whereof, he tells us, he himself had seen, having beheld one *Eleazar* a *Jew*, in the presence of *Vespasian*, his Sons, and the great Officers of his Army, curing *Demoniacs*, by holding a ring to their nose, under whose Seal was hid the root of a certain Plant, prescribed by *Solomon*, at the scent whereof the *Demon* presently took leave and was gone, the Patient falling to the ground, while the Exorcist, by mentioning *Solomon*, and reciting some Charms made by him, stood over him, and charged the evil Spirit never to return. And to let them see that he was really gone, he commanded the *Demon* as he went out to overturn a cup full of water, which he had caused to be set in the room before them. In the number of these Conjurers now at *Ephesus*, there were the seven Sons of *Sceva*, one of the chief heads of the Families of the Priests, who seeing what great things were done by calling over *Demoniacs* the name of *Christ*, attempted themselves to do the like, Conjuring the evil Spirit in the name of that *Jesus*, whom *Paul* preached, to depart. But the stubborn *Demon* would not obey the warrant, telling them, he knew who *Jesus* and *Paul* were, but did not understand what Authority they had to use his Name. And not content with this, forced the *Demoniac* violently to fall upon them, to tear their clothes, and wound their bodies, scarce suffering them to escape with the safety of their Lives. An accident that begot great terrour in the minds of Men, and became the occasion of converting many to the Faith, who came to the Apostle, and confessed the former course and manner of their Lives. Several also, who had traded in curious Arts, and the mysterious methods of Spells and Charms, freely brought their *Books of Magick* Rites (whose price, had

Act. 19. 19. σὺνέψισαν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ εὗρον ἀργυρίῳ μυριάδας πέντε. Ἀργυρίου Græcorum valuit Drachmam Atticam, adeoque nostri 7d. ob. Ac proinde Ἀργυρίου myriades quinque nummi nostri summam conficiunt 1562l. 10s.

* Paul. 7c. Sentent. lib. 5. Sent. 21. Sect. 4. Tit. 23. ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. & Venetic. vid. leg. 4. ff. famil. heretic. Sect. 1. lib. 10. T. 2. & l. 12. C. Theod. de Malef. & Mathem. lib. 9. Tit. 16.

they been to be sold, according to the rates which Men who dealt in those cursed mysteries put upon them, would have amounted to the value of above one thousand five hundred pounds) and openly burnt them before the People, themselves adjudging them to those flames, to which they were condemned by the Laws of the Empire. For so we find the * *Roman* Laws prohibiting any to keep *Books of Magick* Arts, and that where any such were found, their Goods should be forfeited, the Books publicly burned, the persons banished, and if of a meaner rank, beheaded. These Books the penitent Converts did of their own accord sacrifice to the fire, not tempted to spare them either by their former love to them, or the present price and value of them. With so mighty an efficacy did the Gospel prevail over the minds of Men.

6. ABOUT this time it was that the Apostle writ his Epistle to the *Galatians*. For he had heard that since his departure, corrupt opinions had got in amongst them about the necessary observation of the legal Rites, and that several Imposters were crept into that Church, who knew no better way to undermine the Doctrine he had planted there, than by vilifying his person, slighting him as an Apostle only at the second hand, not to be compared with *Peter*, *James* and *John*, who had familiarly conversed with *Christ* in the days of his flesh, and been immediately deputed by him. In this Epistle therefore he reproves them with some necessary smartness and severity, that they had been so soon led out of that right way, wherein he had set them, and had so easily suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the crafty artifices of seducers. He vindicates the honour of his Apostolate, and the immediate receiving his Commission from *Christ*, wherein he shews, that he came not behind the very best of those Apostles. He largely refutes those *Judaical* Opinions that had tainted and infected them, and in the conclusion instructs them in the rules and duties of an Holy Life. While the Apostle thus staid at *Ephesus*, he resolved with himself to pass through *Macedonia* and

and *Achaia*, thence to *Jerusalem*, and so to *Rome*. But for the present altered his resolution, and continued still at *Ephesus*.

7. DURING his stay in this place, an accident happened, that involved him in great trouble and danger. *Ephesus*, above all the Cities of the East, was renowned for the famous Temple of *Diana*, one of the stateliest Temples of the World. It was (as **Pliny* tells us) the very wonder of Magnificence, built at the common charges of all *Asia* properly so called, 220 Years (elsewhere || he says 400) in building, which we are to understand of its successive rebuildings and reparations, being often wasted and destroyed. It was 425 Foot long, 220 broad, supported by 127 Pillars, 60 Foot high; for its antiquity, it was in some degree before the times of *Bacchus*, equal to the Reign of the *Amazons* (by whom it is generally said to have been first built) as the **Ephesian* Ambassadors told *Tiberius*, till by degrees it grew up into that greatness and splendor, that it was generally reckoned one of the seven wonders of the World. But that which gave the greatest fame and reputation to it, was an *Image* of *Diana* kept there, made of no very costly materials, but which the crafty Priests persuaded the People was beyond all humane artifice or contrivement, and that it was immediately formed by *Jupiter*, and dropt down from *Heaven*, having first killed, or banished the Artists that made it (as || *Suidas* informs us) that the cheat might not be discovered, by which means they drew not *Ephesus* only, but the whole World into a mighty veneration of it. Besides there were within this Temple multitudes of Silver Cabinets, or *Chappelets*, little *Shrines*, made in fashion of the Temple, wherein was plac'd the *Image* of *Diana*. For the making of these holy Shrines, great numbers of Silversmiths were employed and maintained, among whom one *Demetrius* was a Leading Man, who foreseeing that if the Christian Religion still got ground, their gainful Trade would soon come to nothing, presently called together the Men of his Profession, especially those whom he himself set on work, told them, that now their welfare and livelihood were concerned, and that the fortunes of their Wives and Children lay at stake, that it was plain that this *Paul* had perverted City and Country, and persuaded the People that the *Images* which they made and worshipped, were no real Gods; by which means their Trade was not only like to fall to the ground, but also the honour and magnificence of the great Goddess *Diana*, whom not *Asia* only, but the whole World did worship and adore. Enraged with this discourse, they cryed out with one Voice, that *Great was Diana of the Ephesians*. The whole City was presently in an uproar, and seizing upon two of *S. Paul's* Companions, hurried them into the *Theatre*, probably with a design to have cast them to the wild Beasts. *S. Paul* hearing of their danger, would have ventured himself among them, had not the Christians, nay, some even of the *Gentile* Priests, Governors of the popular Games and Sports, earnestly dissuaded him from it; well knowing that the People were resolved, if they could meet with him, to throw him to the wild Beasts, that were kept there for the disport and pleasure of the People. And this doubtless he means, when elsewhere he tells us, that *he fought with Beasts at Ephesus*, probably intending what the People designed, though he did not actually suffer; though the brutish rage, the salvage and inhumane manners of this People did sufficiently deserve that the censure and character should be fixed upon themselves.

8. GREAT was the confusion of the Multitude, the major part not knowing the reason of the Concourse. In which distraction *Alexander*, a *Jewish* Convert, being thrust forward by the *Jews*, to be questioned and examined about this matter, he would accordingly have made his *Apologie* to the People, intending no doubt to clear himself by casting the whole blame upon *S. Paul*; This being very probably that *Alexander the Coppersmith*, of whom our Apostle elsewhere complains, *That he did him*

much evil, and greatly withstood his words, and whom he delivered over unto Satan for his

Apostasie, for blaspheming Christ, and reproaching Christianity. But the Multitude

perceiving him to be a Jew, and thereby suspecting him to be one of S. Paul's Affo-

ciates, began to raise an out-cry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could

be heard, but Great is Diana of the Ephesians. The noise being a little over, the Re-

corder, a discreet and prudent Man, came out and calmly told them, That it was suf-

ficiently known to all the World, what a mighty honour and veneration the City of

Ephesus had for the great Goddess Diana, and the famous Image, which fell from

Heaven, that therefore there needed not this stir to vindicate and assert it: That they

had seized Persons, who were not guilty either of Sacrilege or Blasphemy towards their

Goddeſs;

* *H. Natur. lib. 36. c. 14. p. 716.*

|| *Lib. 16. c. 40. p. 336.*

Σοὶ καὶ Ἀμαζόνιδες

* *Εγκοτε παρβαλὴν Ἐφέου βρέλας ἰδρυσαίης.*

οὐδ' ἀφνειότερον ῥέα καὶ Πυθῶνα παρέρχου.

Callym. in Dian. Hymn. 2. p. 23.

πρωτοῖον ἀνδράσι δαῖμα. *Dyonis.*

Perieg. v. 829.

* *Tacit. Annal.*

lib. 3. cap. 61.

p. 117.

Suid. in voc.

Διοπέτης.

2 *Tim. 4. 14.*

1 *Tim. 1. 20.*

Goddeſs; that if *Demetrins* and his Company had any juſt charge againſt them, the Courts were ſitting, and they might prefer their Indictment: or if the Controverſie were about any other matter, it might be referred to ſuch a proper Judicature as the Law appoints for the determination of ſuch caſes: That therefore they ſhould do well to be quiet, having done more already than they could answer, if called in queſtion, (as 'tis like they would) there being no cauſe ſufficient to juſtify that day's riotous Aſſembly. With which prudent Diſcourſe he appeaſed and diſmiſſed the Multitude.

9. IT was about this time that S. *Paul* heard of ſome diſturbance in the Church at *Corinth*, hatched and fomented by a pack of falſe Heretical Teachers, crept in among them, who endeavoured to draw them into Parties and Factions, by perſuading one Party to be for *Peter*, another for *Paul*, a third for *Apollos*, as if the main of Religion conſiſted in being of this or that Denomination, or in a warm active zeal to decry and oppoſe whoever is not of our narrow Sect. 'Tis a very weak and ſlender claim, when a Man holds his Religion by no better a title than that he has joyned himſelf to this Man's Church, or that Man's Congregation, and is zealouſly earneſt to maintain and promote it, to be childiſhly and paſſionately clamorous for one Man's mode and way of adminiſtration, or for ſome particular Humour or Opinion, as if Religion lay in nice and curious diſputes, or in ſeparating from our Brethren, and not rather in *righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt*. By this means Schiſms and Factions broke into the *Corinthian* Church, whereby many wild and extravagant Opinions, and ſome of them ſuch as undermined the fundamental Articles of Chriſtianity, were planted, and had taken root there. As the envious Man never fiſhes more ſucceſſfully than in troubled Waters. To cure theſe diſtempers S. *Paul* (who had received an account of all theſe by Letters which *Apollos*, and ſome others had brought to him from the Church of *Corinth*) writes his firſt Epiſtle to them. Wherein he ſmartly reproves them for their Schiſms and Parties, conjures them to peace and unity, corrects thoſe groſs corruptions that were introduced among them, and particularly reſolves thoſe many caſes and controverſies, wherein they had requested his advice and counſel. Shortly after *Apollos* deſigning to go for *Crete*, by him and *Zenas* S. *Paul* ſends his Epiſtle to *Titus*, whom he had made Biſhop of that Iſland, and had left there for the propagating of the Goſpel. Herein he fully inſtructs him in the execution of his Office, how to carry himſelf, and what directions he ſhould give to others, to all particular ranks and relations of Men, eſpecially thoſe who were to be advanced to places of Office and Authority in the Church.

10. A LITTLE before S. *Paul's* departure from *Ephesus*, we may not improbably ſuppoſe, that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, the famous Philoſopher and Magician of the Heathen World, (a Man remarkable for the ſtrictneſs of his Manners, and his ſober and regular courſe of life, but eſpecially for the great Miracles ſaid to have been done by him; whom therefore the Heathens generally ſet up as the great Corridor of our Saviour; though ſome of his own party, and particularly * *Euphratus* the Philoſopher, who lived with him at the ſame time at *Rome*, accuſed him for doing his ſtrange feats by *Magick*) came to *Ephesus*. The enemy of mankind probably deſigning to obſtruct the propagation of Chriſtianity, by ſetting up one who by the Arts of *Magick* might, at leaſt in the Vogue and Eſtimation of the People, equal, or eclipse the Miracles of S. *Paul*. Certain it is, if we compare times and actions ſet down by the || Writer of his Life, we ſhall find that he came hither about the beginning of *Nero's* Reign, and he particularly ſets down the ſtrange things that were done by him, eſpecially his clearing the City of a grievous Plague, for which the People of *Ephesus* had him in ſuch veneration, that they erected a *Statue* to him as to a particular Deity, and did divine honour to it. But whether this was before S. *Paul's* going thence, I will not take upon me to determine; it ſeems moſt probable to have been done afterwards.

* Eufeb. lib. 4.
contra Hierocl.
p. 530. ad calc.
Demonſtr. E-
vang.

|| Philoſtr. de
vit. Apoll. Tya.
l. 4. cap. 1. p. 159
et c. 12. p. 194.
confer. lib. 5.
Ibid. lib. 4. c. 3.
p. 164. vid. Eu-
feb. in Hierocl.
lib. 4. apud Phi-
loſtr. p. 457.

SECT. V.

S. Paul's Acts, from his departure from *Ephesus*, till his Arraignment before *Felix*.

S. Paul's journey into Macedonia. His preaching as far as Illyricum, and return into Greece. His second Epistle to the Corinthians, and what the design of it. His first Epistle to Timothy. His Epistle to the Romans, whence written, and with what design. S. Paul's preaching at Troas, and raising Eutychus. His summoning the Asian Bishops to Miletus, and pathetic discourse to them. His stay at Cæsarea with Philip the Deacon. The Churches passionate dissuading him from going to Jerusalem. His coming to Jerusalem, and compliance with the indifferent Rites of the Mosaic Law, and why. The tumults raised against him by the Jews, and his rescue by the Roman Captain. His asserting his Roman freedom. His carriage before the Sanhedrim. The difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees about him. The Jews conspiracy against his Life discovered. His being sent unto Cæsarea.

1. **I**T was not long after the tumult at *Ephesus*, when S. Paul having called the Church together, and constituted *Timothy* Bishop of that place, took his leave, and departed by *Troas* for Macedonia. And at this time it was, that, as he himself tells us, he preached the Gospel round about unto Illyricum, since called *Sclavonia*, some parts of Macedonia, bordering on that Province. From Macedonia he returned back unto Greece, where he abode three months, and met with *Titus*, lately come with great contributions from the Church at *Corinth*. By whose example he stirred up the liberality of the Macedonians, who very freely, and somewhat beyond their ability contributed to the poor Christians at Jerusalem. From *Titus* he had an account of the present state of the Church at *Corinth*; and by him at his return, together with Saint *Luke*, he sent his second Epistle to them. Wherein he endeavours to set right what his former Epistle had not yet effected, to vindicate his Apostleship, from that contempt and scorn, and himself from those slanders and aspersions, which the seducers, who had found themselves lasht by his first Epistle, had cast upon him, together with some other particular cases relating to them. Much about the same time he writ his first Epistle to *Timothy*, whom he had left at *Ephesus*, wherein at large he counsels him, how to carry himself in the discharge of that great place and authority in the Church, which he had committed to him; instructs him in the particular qualifications of those whom he should make choice of, to be Bishops and Ministers in the Church. How to order the *Deaconesses*, and to instruct Servants, warning him withal of that pestilent generation of hereticks and seducers, that would arise in the Church. During his three months stay in Greece, he went to *Corinth*, whence he wrote his famous Epistle to the *Romans*, which he sent by *Phæbe*, a *Deaconess* of the Church of *Cenchrea*, nigh *Corinth*: wherein his main design is fully to state and determine the great controverſie between the Jews and Gentiles, about the obligation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jewish Law, and those main and material Doctrines of Christianity, which did depend upon it, such as of Christian Liberty, the use of indifferent things, &c. And which is the main end of all Religion, instructs them in, and presses them to the duties of an holy and good life, such as the Christian Doctrine does naturally tend to oblige Men to.

2. S. Paul being now resolved for Syria, to convey the contributions to the Brethren at Jerusalem, was a while diverted from that resolution, by a design he was told of which the Jews had to kill and rob him by the way. Whereupon he went back into Macedonia, and so came to *Philippi*, and thence went to *Troas*, where having staid a week, on the Lord's-day the Church met together to receive the holy Sacrament. Here S. Paul preached to them, and continued his discourse till midnight, the longer probably, being the next day to depart from them. The length of his discourse, and the time of the night had caused some of his Auditors to be overtaken with sleep and drowsiness, among whom a young Man called *Eutychus* being fast asleep, fell down from the third story, and was taken up dead, but whom S. Paul presently restored to life and health. How indefatigable was the industry of our Apostle: how close did he

he tread in his Master's steps, who *went about doing good*! He compassed Sea and Land, preached and wrought Miracles where-ever he came. In every place like a wise Master-builder, he either laid a foundation, or raised the superstructure. He was *instant in season and out of season*, and spared not his pains, either night or day, that he might do good to the Souls of Men. The night being thus spent in holy exercises, S. Paul in the morning took his leave, and went on foot to *Affos*, a Sea-port Town, whither he had sent his company by Sea. Thence they set sail to *Mytilene*; from thence to *Samos*, and having staid some little time at *Trogyllium*, the next day came to *Myletus*, not so much as putting in at *Ephesus*, because the Apostle was resolved, if possible, to be at *Jerusalem* at the Feast of *Pentecost*.

Acts 21. 17.

3. AT *Myletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, to summon the Bishops and Governours of the Church, who being come, he put them in mind with what uprightness and integrity, with what affection and humility, with how great trouble and danger, with how much faithfulness to their Souls he had been conversant among them, and had preached the Gospel to them, ever since his first coming into those parts: That he had not failed to acquaint them both publicly and privately with whatever might be useful and profitable to them, urging both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles* repentance and reformation of life, and an hearty entertainment of the Faith of *Christ*: That now he was resolved to go to *Jerusalem*, where he did not know what particular sufferings would befall him, more than this, That it had been foretold him in every place by those who were endued with the Prophetical Gifts of the Holy Ghost, that afflictions and imprisonment would attend him there: But that he was not troubled at this, no nor unwilling to lay down his life, so he might but successfully preach the Gospel, and faithfully serve his Lord in that place and station wherein he had set him: That he knew that henceforth they should see his face no more, but that this was his encouragement and satisfaction, that they themselves could bear him witness, that he had not by concealing from them any parts of the Christian Doctrine, betray'd their Souls: That as for themselves, whom God had made Bishops and Pastours of his Church, they should be careful to feed, guide and direct those Christians under their inspection, and be infinitely tender of the good of Souls, for whose redemption *Christ* laid down his own life: That all the care they could use was no more than necessary, it being certain, that after his departure, Heretical Teachers would break in among them, and endanger the ruine of Men's Souls; nay, that even among themselves, there would some arise, who by subtil and crafty methods, by corrupt and pernicious Doctrines would gain Profelytes to their Party, and thereby make Rents and Schisms in the Church: That therefore they should watch, remembring with what tears and sorrow, he had for three years together warned them of these things: That now he recommended them to the Divine Care and Goodness, and to the rules and instructions of the Gospel, which if adhered to, would certainly dispose and perfect them for that state of happiness which God had prepared for good Men in Heaven. In short, that he had all along dealt faithfully and uprightly with them, they might know from hence, that in all his preaching he had no crafty or covetous designs upon any Man's Estate or Riches, having (as themselves could witness) industriously laboured with his own hands, and by his own work maintained both himself and his company: Herein leaving them an example, what pains they ought to take to support the weak, and relieve the poor, rather than to be themselves chargeable unto others; according to that incomparable saying of our Saviour (which surely S. Paul had received from some of those that had conversed with him in the days of his flesh) *It is more blessed to give, than to receive*. This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Visitation-Sermon* being ended, the Apostle kneeled down, and concluded all with Prayer. Which done they all melted into tears, and with the greatest expressions of sorrow attended him to the Ship, though that which made the deepest impression upon their minds was, that he had told them, *That they should see his face no more*.

Acts 20. 1.

4. DEPARTING from *Myletus*, they arrived at *Coos*, thence came to *Rhodes*, thence to *Patara*, thence to *Tyre*; where meeting with some Christians, he was advised by those among them, who had the gift of Prophecy, that he should not go up to *Jerusalem*: with them he staid a week, and then going all together to the shore, he kneeled down and prayed with them, and having mutually embraced one another, he went on board, and came to *Ptolemais*, where only saluting the Brethren, they came next day unto *Cesarea*. Here they lodged in the house of *Philip* the Evangelist, one of the seven *Deacons* that were at first set apart by the Apostles, who had four Virgin-daughters, all endued with the gift of Prophecy. During their stay in this place,

place, *Agabus* a Christian Prophet came down hither, from *Judea*, who taking *Paul's* girdle, bound with it his own hands and feet, telling them, that by this external Symbol the Holy Ghost did signifie and declare, that *S. Paul* should be thus serv'd by the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, and be by them delivered over into the hands of the *Gentiles*. Whereupon they all passionately besought him, that he would divert his course to some other place. The Apostle ask'd them, what they meant, by these compassionate dissuaves to add more affliction to his sorrow? that he was willing and resolved not only to be imprisoned, but if need were, to die at *Jerusalem* for the sake of *Christ* and his Religion. Finding his resolution fixed and immoveable, they importun'd him no farther, but left the event to the Divine will and pleasure. All things being in readiness, they set forwards on their journey, and being come to *Jerusalem*, were kindly and joyfully entertained by the Christians there.

5. THE next day after their arrival, *S. Paul* and his company went to the house Aas 21. 18. of *S. James* the Apostle, where the rest of the Bishops and Governours of the Church were met together; after mutual salutations, he gave them a particular account with what success God had blessed him in propagating Christianity among the *Gentiles*, for which they all heartily blessed God, but withal told him, that he was now come to a place, where there were many thousands of *Jewish* Converts, who all retained a mighty zeal and veneration for the Law of *Moses*, and who had been informed of him, that he taught the *Jews*, whom he had converted, in every place, to renounce Circumcision, and the Ceremonies of the Law: That as soon as the multitude heard of his arrival, they would come together to see how he behaved himself in this matter; and therefore to prevent so much disturbance, it was advisable, that there being four Men there at that time, who were to accomplish a Vow, (probably not the *Nazarite-vow*, but some other, which they had made for deliverance from sickness, or some other imminent danger and distress; for so * *Josephus* tells us, they were wont to do * De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 13. in such cases, and before they came to offer the accustomed Sacrifices, to abstain for some time from Wine, and to shave their heads) he would joyn himself to them, perform the usual Rites and Ceremonies with them, and provide such Sacrifices for them, as the Law required in that case; and that in discharge of their Vow, they might shave their heads. Whereby it would appear, that the reports which were spread concerning him were false and groundless, and that he himself did still observe the Rites and Orders of the *Mosaical* Institution: That as for the *Gentile* Converts, they required no such observances at their hands, nor expected any thing more from them in these indifferent matters, than what had been before determined by the *Apostolical Synod* in that place. *S. Paul* (who in such things was willing to become all things to all men, that he might gain the more) consented to the counsel which they gave him, and taking the Persons along with him to the Temple, told the Priests, that the time of a Vow which they had made being now run out, and having purified themselves, as the nature of the case required, they were come to make their Offerings according to the Law.

6. THE seven days wherein those Sacrifices were to be offered being now almost ended, some *Jews* that were come from *Asia* (where, probably, they had opposed *S. Paul*) now finding him in the Temple, began to raise a tumult and uproar, and laying hold of him, called out to the rest of the *Jews* for their assistance: Telling them, that this was the Fellow, that every where vented Doctrines derogatory to the Prerogative of the *Jewish* Nation, destructive to the Institutions of the Law, and to the purity of that Place, which he had profaned by bringing in uncircumcised *Greeks* into it: Positively concluding, that because they had seen *Trophimus* a *Gentile* Convert of *Ephesus* with him in the City, therefore he had brought him also into the Temple. So apt is malice to make any premisses, from whence it may infer its own conclusion. Hereupon the whole City was presently in an uproar, and seizing upon him, they dragged him out of the Temple, the doors being presently shut against him. Nor had they failed there to put a period to all his troubles, had not *Claudius Lysias*, Commander of the *Roman* Garrison in the Tower of *Antonia*, come in with some Souldiers to his rescue and deliverance; and supposing him to be a more than ordinary Malefactor, commanded a double Chain to be put upon him, though as yet altogether ignorant, either who he, or what his crime was, and wherein he could receive little satisfaction from the clamorous Multitude, who called for nothing but his Death, following the cry with such crouds and numbers, that the Souldiers were forced to take him into their arms, to secure him from the present rage and violence of the People. As they were going up into the Castle, *S. Paul* asked the Governour, whether he might

have the liberty to speak to him, who finding him to speak *Greek*, enquired of him, whether he was not that *Egyptian*, which a few Years before had raised a Sedition in *Judea*, and headed a Party of Four thousand debauched and profligate wretches: The Apostle replied, that he was a *Jew of Tarsus*, a Free-man of a rich and honourable City, and therefore begg'd of him, that he might have leave to speak to the People: Which the Captain readily granted; and standing near the Door of the Castle, and making signs that they would hold their peace, he began to address himself to them in the *Hebrew Language*: which when they heard, they became a little more calm and quiet, while he discoursed to them to this effect.

Acts 22. 1.

7. HE gave them an account of himself from his Birth, of his Education in his youth, of the mighty zeal which he had for the Rites and Customs of their Religion, and with what a passionate earnestness he persecuted and put to death all the Christians that he met with, whereof the High-Priest and the *Sanhedrim* could be sufficient witnesses. He next gave them an entire and punctual relation of the way and manner of his conversion, and how that he had received an immediate command from God himself to depart *Jerusalem*, and Preach unto the *Gentiles*. At this word the patience of the *Jews* could hold no longer, but they unanimously cried out, to have him put to death, it not being fit that such a Villain should live upon the Earth. And the more to express their fury, they threw off their Cloaths, and cast dust into the Air, as if they immediately designed to stone him. To avoid which the Captain of the Guard com-

Cadebatur virgis in medio foro Messana Civis Romanus, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri audiebatur, nisi hac, Civis Romanus sum. Hac se commemoratione, Civitatis omnia verba depulsum arbitratur. — O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Semproniae! Cicer. in Ver. lib. 7. Tom. 2. p. 218. Facinus est vincire Civem Romanum, scelus verberare. Id ib. p. 220. vid. suprâ Sect. III. Num. 4.

manded him to be brought within the Castle, and that he should be examined by whipping, till he confessed the reason of so much rage against him. While the *Licitor* was binding him in order to it, he asked the *Centurion* that stood by, whether they could justify the scourging a *Citizen of Rome*, and that before any sentence legally passed upon him. This the *Centurion* presently intimated to the Governour of the Castle, bidding him have a care what he did, for the Prisoner was a *Roman*. Whereat the Governour himself came, and asked

him, whether he was a free *Denizon* of *Rome*? and being told that he was, he replied, that it was a great privilege, a privilege which he himself had purchased at a considerable rate. To whom S. Paul answered, that it was his Birth-right, and the privilege of the place where he was born and bred. Hereupon they gave over their design of whipping him, the Commander himself being a little startled, that he had bound and chained a *Denizon* of *Rome*.

Acts 23. 1.

8. THE next day the Governour commanded his Chains to be knock'd off, and that he might thoroughly satisfy himself in the matter, commanded the *Sanhedrim* to meet, and brought down Paul before them: where being set before the Council, he

Εἰς αὐτὸν σιωπῶν, οὐδὲν ἔχει τὸ λογιζέσθαι ἡμεμονικὸν, ἐαυτὸ ἀρετῆσαι δικαιοπραγῶντι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ πᾶσι γαλλῶνι ἐχούσι. M. Ant. ὅτι εἰς ἐαυτὸν. lib. 7. Sect. 28. p. 63.

Iustum et tenebre propositi Virum,

Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,

Non vultus instantis Tyranni

Mente quatit solida: neque Auster

Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,

Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.

Si fractus illabatur orbis,

Impavidum ferient ruina.

Horat. Carm. l. 3. Od. 3. p. 154.

** Sapiens ille est plenus gaudio, hilaris, et placidus, inconvulsus, cum diu ex pari vivit: per dies noctesque par et aequalis animi tenor erecti et placetis sibi est. — Talis est sapientis animus, qualis mundi status super Lunam, semper illic serenum est, nunquam sine gaudio est. Gaudium hoc non nascitur, nisi ex virtutum conscientia. Senec. Epist. 59. p. 152.*

told them, that in all passages of his life he had been careful to act according to the severest rules and conscience of his duty. Men and Brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. Behold here the great security of a good Man, and what invisible supports innocence affords under greatest danger. With how generous a confidence does virtue and honesty guard the breast of a good Man! as indeed nothing else can lay a firm basis and foundation for satisfaction and tranquility, when any misery or calamity does overtake us. Religion and a good Conscience beget Peace and a Heaven in the Man's bosom, beyond the power of the little accidents of this World to ruffle and discompose. Whence

* Seneca compares the mind of a wise and good Man to the state of the upper Region, which is always serene and calm. The High-Priest *Ananias* being offended at the holy and ingenious freedom of our Apostle, as if by asserting his own innocence, he had reproached the Justice of their Tribunal, commanded those that stood next him, to strike him in the Face; whereto the Apostle tartly replied, That GOD would smite him, Hypocrite as he was, who under a pretence of doing Justice, had illegally commanded him to be punished, before the Law condemned him for a Malefactor. Whereupon they that stood by asked him, how he durst thus affront so sacred and venerable a Person as God's High-Priest?

Hæc Pauli verba Ananias et Apparitores sic accipiebant, quasi excusaret Paulus quod sibi in istis

He calmly return'd, That he did not know [or own] *Ananias* to be an High-Priest [of God's appointment.] However being

being a Person in Authority, it was not lawful to revile him, God himself having commanded, that *no man should speak evil of the Ruler of the People*. The Apostle, who as he never laid aside the innocency of the Dove, so knew how, when occasion was, to make use of the wisdom of the Serpent, perceiving the Council to consist partly of Sadducees, and partly of Pharisees, openly told them, that he was a Pharisee, and the Son of a Pharisee, and that the main thing he was questioned for, was his belief of a future Resurrection. This quickly divided the Council, the Pharisees being zealous Patrons of that Article, and the Sadducees as stiffly denying, that there is either Angel (that is, of a spiritual and immortal nature, really, subsisting of it self; for otherwise they cannot be supposed to have utterly denied all sorts of Angels, seeing they owned the Pentateuch wherein there is frequent mention of them) or Spirit, or that humane Souls do exist in a separate state, and consequently that there is no Resurrection. Presently the Doctors of the Law, who were Pharisees, stood up to acquit him, affirming he had done nothing amiss, that it was possible he had received some intimation from Heaven by an Angel, or the revelation of the Holy Spirit; and if so, then in opposing his doctrine, they might fight against God himself.

9. GREAT were the dissensions in the Council about this matter, insomuch that the Governour fearing S. Paul would be torn in pieces, commanded the Souldiers to take him from the Bar, and return him back into the Castle. That night to comfort him after all his frights and fears, God was pleased to appear to him in a Vision, encouraging him to constancy and resolution, assuring him that as he had born witness to his cause at Jerusalem, so in despite of all his Enemies he should live to bear his testimony, even at Rome itself. The next morning the Jews, who could as well cease to be, as to be mischievous and malicious, finding that these dilatory proceedings were not like to do the work, resolved upon a quicker dispatch. To which end above forty of them entred into a wicked confederacy, which they ratified by Oath and Execration, never to eat or drink till they had killed him; and having acquainted the Sanhedrim with their design, they intreated them to importune the Governour, that he might again the next day be brought down before them, under pretence of a more strict trial of his case, and that they themselves would lie in ambush by the way, and not fail to dispatch him. But that Divine Providence that peculiarly superintends the safety of good Men, disappoints the devices of the crafty. The design was discovered to S. Paul by a Nephew of his, and by him imparted to the Governour, who immediately commanded two Parties of Foot and Horse, to be ready by Nine of the Clock that Night, and provision to be made for S. Paul's carriage to Felix the Roman Governour of that Province: To whom also he wrote, signifying whom he had sent, how the Jews had used him, and that his Enemies also should appear before him to manage the charge and accusation. Accordingly he was by Night conducted to Antipatris, and afterwards to Cesarea, where the Letters being delivered to Felix, the Apostle was presented to him: and finding that he belonged to the Province of Cilicia, he told him, that as soon as his Accusers were arrived he should have an hearing, commanding him in the mean time to be secured in the place called Herod's Hall.

malis constituto non satis in mentem venisset, quicum sibi res esset. Verum latentior sensus suberat, non esse eum sacerdotem, aut principem Senatûs, qui eas dignitates pretio comparasset. Didicerat enim hoc à Gamaliele Paulus; Judicem qui honoris consequendi causâ pecunias dederit, reverâ neque judicem esse, neque honorandum, sed asini habendum loco, ut est in Titulo Talmudico de Synedrio. Grot. in loc.

S E C T. VI.

Of S. Paul, from his first Trial before *Fœlix*, till his coming to *Rome*.

S. Paul impleaded before *Fœlix* by *Tertullus* the Jewish Advocate. His charge of Sedition, Heresie and Profanation of the Temple. S. Paul's reply to the several parts of the charge. His second Hearing before *Fœlix* and *Drusilla*. His smart and impartial Reasonings. *Fœlix* his great Injustice and Oppression: His Luxury and Intemperance, Bribery and Covetousness. S. Paul's Arraignment before *Festus*, *Fœlix* his Successour, at *Cæsarea*. His Appeal to *Cæsar*. The nature and manner of those Appeals. He is again brought before *Festus* and *Agrippa*. His vindication of himself, and the goodness of his cause. His being acquitted by his Judges of any Capital crime. His Voyage to *Rome*. The trouble and danger of it. Their Shipwreck, and being cast upon the Island *Melita*. Their courteous entertainment by the Barbarians, and their different censure of S. Paul. The civil usage of the Governour, and his Conversion to Christianity. S. Paul met and conducted by Christians to *Rome*.

Acts 24. 1.

1. **N**OT many days after down comes *Ananias* the High-Priest, with some others of the *Sanhedrim* to *Cæsarea*, accompanied with *Tertullus* their Advocate, who in a short but neat Speech, set off with all the flattering and insinuating arts of Eloquence, began to implead our Apostle, charging him with *Sedition*, *Heresie*, and the *Profanation* of the Temple: That they would have saved him the trouble of this Hearing, by judging him according to their own Law, had not *Lyfias* the Commander violently taken him from them, and sent both him and them down thither. To all which the Jews that were with him gave in their Vote and Testimony. Saint Paul having leave from *Fœlix* to defend himself, and having told him, how much he was satisfied that he was to plead before one, who for so many years had been Governour of that Nation, distinctly answered to the several parts of the Charge.

2. And first for *Sedition*, he point-blank denied it, affirming that they found him behaving himself quietly and peaceably in the Temple, not so much as disputing there, nor stirring up the People either in the Synagogues, or any other place of the City. And though this was plausibly pretended by them, yet were they never able to make it good. As for the charge of *Heresie*, that he was a Ring-leader of the Sect of the *Nazarenes*, he ingenuously acknowledged that after the way which they counted *Heresie*, so he worshipped God, the same way in substance wherein all the Patriarchs of the Jewish Nation had worshipped God before him, taking nothing into his Creed, but what the Authentick Writings of the Jews themselves did own and justify: That he firmly believed, what the better of themselves were ready to grant, another Life, and a future Resurrection: In the hope and expectation whereof he was careful to live unblameable, and conscientiously to do his duty both to God and Men. As for the third part of the Charge, his *Profaning* of the Temple, he shews how little foundation there was for it, that the design of his coming to *Jerusalem* was to bring charitable Contributions to his distressed Brethren, that he was indeed in the Temple, but not as some *Asiatick* Jews falsely suggested, either with tumult or with multitude, but only purifying himself according to the Rites and Customs of the *Mosaick* Law: And that if any would affirm the contrary, they should now come into open Court, and make it good. Nay, that he appealed to those of the *Sanhedrim* that were there present, whether he had not been acquitted by their own great Council at *Jerusalem*, where nothing of moment had been laid to his charge, except by them of the *Sadducean* party, who quarrelled with him only for asserting the Doctrine of the Resurrection. *Fœlix* having thus heard both Parties argue, refused to make any final determination in the case, till he had more fully advised about it, and spoken with *Lyfias*, Commander of the Garrison, who was best able to give an account of the Sedition and the Tumult; commanding in the mean time that S. Paul should be under guard, but yet in so free a custody, that none of his Friends should be hindered from visiting him, or performing any office of kindness and friendship to him.

3. IT was not long after this before his Wife *Drusilla* (a *Jewess*, Daughter of the elder *Herod*, and whom *Tacitus*, I fear by a mistake for his former Wife *Drusilla*, Daughter to *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, makes Niece to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*) came to him to *Cesarea*. Who being present, he sent for *S. Paul* to appear before them, and gave him leave to discourse concerning the Doctrine of Christianity. In his discourse he took occasion particularly to insist upon the great obligation, which the Laws of *Christ* lay upon Men to Justice and Righteousness toward one another, to Sobriety and Chastity both towards themselves and others, withall urging that severe and impartial account, that must be given in the Judgment of the other World, wherein Men shall be arraigned for all the actions of their past life, and be eternally punished or rewarded according to their works. A discourse wisely adapted by the Apostle to *Felix* his state and temper. But corrosives are very uneasy to a guilty mind: Men naturally hate that which brings their sins to their remembrance, and sharpens the sting of a violated Conscience. The Prince was so nettled with the Apostle's reasonings, that he fell a trembling, and caused the Apostle to break off abruptly, telling him, he would hear the rest at some other season. And good reason there was that *Felix* his Conscience should be sensibly alarmed with these reflexions, being a Man notoriously infamous for rapine and violence. * *Tacitus* tells us of him, that he made his Will the Law of his Government, practising all manner of cruelty and injustice. And then for Incontinency, he was given over to luxury and debauchery, for the compassing whereof he scrupled not to violate all Laws both of God and Man. Whereof this very Wife *Drusilla* was a famous † instance. For being married by her Brother to *Azis* King of the *Emisenes*, *Felix*, who had heard of her incomparable Beauty, by the help of *Simon* the Magician, a Jew of *Cyprus*, ravish'd her from her Husband's bed, and in defiance of all law and right, kept her for his own Wife. To these qualities he had added bribery and covetousness, and therefore frequently sent for *S. Paul* to discourse with him, expecting that he should have given him a considerable sum for his release; and the rather probably, because he had heard that *S. Paul* had lately brought up great sums of Money to *Jerusalem*. But finding no offers made, either by the Apostle or his Friends, he kept him Prisoner for two years together, so long as himself continued *Procurator* of that Nation, when being displaced by *Nero*, he left *S. Paul* still in Prison, on purpose to gratify the *Jews*, and engage them to speak better of him after his departure from them.

* *Histor. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 538. vid. Annal. lib. 12. c. 54. p. 234.*

† *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 20. c. 5. p. 693.*

4. TO him succeeded *Portius Festus* in the Procuratorship of the Province, at whose first coming to *Jerusalem*, the High-Priest and *Sanhedrim* presently began to prefer to him an Indictment against *S. Paul*, desiring, that in order to his Trial, he might be sent for up from *Cesarea*, designing under this pretence that some Assassins should lie in the way to murder him. *Festus* told them, that he himself was going shortly for *Cesarea*, and that if they had any thing against *S. Paul*, they should come down thither and accuse him. Accordingly being come to *Cesarea*, and sitting in open Judicature, the *Jews* began to renew the Charge which they had heretofore brought against *S. Paul*: Of all which he cleared himself, they not being able to make any proof against him. However *Festus*, being willing to oblige the *Jews* in the entrance upon his Government, asked him, whether he would go up and be tried before him at *Jerusalem*? The Apostle well understanding the consequences of that proposal, told him that he was a *Roman*, and therefore ought to be judged by their Laws, that he stood now at *Cesar's* own Judgment-Seat (as indeed what was done by the Emperour's *Procurator* in any Province, the * Law reckoned as done by the Emperour himself) and though he should submit to the *Jewish* Tribunal, yet he himself saw, that they had nothing which they could prove against him; that if he had done any thing which really deserved capital punishment, he was willing to undergo it; but if not, he ought not to be delivered over to his Enemies, who were before-hand resolved to take away his life. However, as the safest course, he solemnly made his appeal to the *Roman* Emperour, who should judge between them. Whereupon *Festus* advising with the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, received his appeal, and told him he should go to *Cesar*. This way of appealing was frequent among the *Romans*, introduced to defend and secure the lives and fortunes of the populace from the unjust incroachments, and over-rigorous severities of the Magistrates, whereby it was lawful in cases of oppression to appeal to the People for redress and rescue, a thing more than once and again settled by the Sanction of the *Valerian* Laws. These † appeals were wont to be made in writing, by *Appellatory Libels* given in, wherein was contained an account of the Appellant, the person against whom, and from whose Sentence he did

* *L. 1. ff. de Off. Proc. Cæs. lib. 1. Tit. 19.*

† *Leg. 1. Sec. 4. ff. de appellat. lib. 49. Tit. 1.*

Leg. 2. & 3.
ibid.

|| Ibid. Leg. 25.
& 1. 7. ff. ad
Leg. Jul. de vi
public. lib. 48.
Tit. 6.

did appeal. But where the case was done in open Court, it was enough for the Criminal verbally to declare that he did appeal: In great and weighty cases appeals were made to the Prince himself, and that not only at *Rome*, but in the Provinces of the Empire, all *Proconsuls* and Governours of Provinces being strictly || forbidden to execute, scourge, bind or put any badge of servility upon a Citizen, or any that had the privilege of a Citizen of *Rome*, who had made his appeal, or any ways to hinder him from going thither, to obtain justice at the hands of the Emperour, who had as much regard to the liberty of his Subjects (says the Law it self) as they could have of their good-will and obedience to him. And this was exactly *S. Paul's* case, who knowing that he should have no fair and equitable dealing at the hands of the Governour, when once he came to be swayed by the *Jews*, his sworn and inveterate enemies, appealed from him to the Emperour, the reason why *Festus* durst not deny his demand, it being a privilege so often, so plainly settled and confirmed by the *Roman* Laws.

5. SOME time after King *Agrippa*, who succeeded *Herod* in the Tetrarchate of *Galilee*, and his Sister *Bernice* came to *Cesarea*, to make a visit to the new-come Governour. To him *Festus* gave an account of *S. Paul*, and the great stir and trouble that had been made about him, and how for his safety and vindication he had immediately appealed to *Cesar*. *Agrippa* was very desirous to see and hear him, and accordingly the next day the King and his Sister, accompanied with *Festus* the Governour, and other persons of Quality, came into the Court with a pompous and magnificent retinue, where the Prisoner was brought forth before him. *Festus* having acquainted the King and the Assembly, how much he had been solicited by the *Jews* both at *Cesarea* and *Jerusalem*, concerning the Prisoner at the Bar, that as a notorious Malefactor he might be put to death, but that having found him guilty of no capital crime, and the Prisoner himself having appeared to *Cesar*, he was resolved to send him to *Rome*; but yet was willing to have his case again discussed before *Agrippa*, that so he might be furnished with some material instructions to send along with him, since it was very absurd to send a Prisoner, without signifying what crimes were charged upon him.

Acts 26. 1.

6. HEREUPON *Agrippa* told the Apostle, he had liberty to make his own defence. To whom, after silence made, he particularly addressed his speech; he tells him in the first place what a happiness he had, that he was to plead before one so exactly versed in all the rites and customs, the questions and the controversies of the *Jewish* Law, that the *Jews* themselves knew what had been the course and manner of his life, how he had been educated under the Institutions of the *Pharisees*, the strictest Sect of the whole *Jewish* Religion, and had been particularly disquieted and arraigned for what had been the constant belief of all their Fathers, what was sufficiently credible in it self, and plainly enough revealed in the Scripture, the Resurrection of the dead. He next gave him an account with what a bitter and implacable zeal he had formerly persecuted Christianity, told him the whole story and method of his conversion, and that in compliance with a particular Vision from Heaven, he had preached repentance and reformation of life first to the *Jews*, and then after to the *Gentiles*: That it was for no other things than these that the *Jews* apprehended him in the Temple, and designed to murder him; but being rescued and upheld by a Divine power, he continued in this testimony to this day, asserting nothing but what was perfectly agreeable to *Moses* and the Prophets, who had plainly foretold that the *Messiah* should both be put to death and rise again, and by his doctrine enlighten both the *Jewish* and the *Gentile* World. While he was thus discoursing, *Festus* openly cried out, that he talked like a mad-man, that his over-much study had put him besides himself. The Apostle calmly replied, he was far from being transported with idle and distracted humours, that he spake nothing but what was most true and real in it self, and what very well became that grave, sober Auditory. And then again, addressing himself to *Agrippa*, told him, that these things having been open and publick, he could not but be acquainted with them; that he was confident that he believed the Prophets, and must needs therefore know that those Prophecies were fulfilled in *Christ*. Hereat *Agrippa* replied, That he had in some degree persuaded him to imbrace the Christian Faith. To which the Apostle returned, that he heartily prayed, that not only he, but the whole Auditory were, not only in some measure, but altogether, though not Prisoners, yet as much Christians as he himself was. This done, the King and the Governour, and the rest of the Council withdrew a while, to confer privately about this matter. And finding by the accusations brought against him, that he was not guilty

guilty by the *Roman* Laws of any capital offence, no nor of any that deserved so much as imprisonment, *Agrippa* told *Festus*, that he might have been released, if he had not appealed unto *Cæsar*. For the Appeal being once made, the Judge had then no power either to absolve or condemn, the cause being intirely reserved to the cognizance of that Superiour, to whom the Criminal had appealed.

7. IT was now finally resolved that *S. Paul* should be sent to *Rome*: in order Acts 27. 1. whereunto he was, with some other Prisoners of remark, committed to the charge of *Julius*, Commander of a Company belonging to the *Legion* of *Augustus*; accompanied in this Voyage by *S. Luke*, *Aristarchus*, *Trophimus*, and some others. In *September*, *Ann. Chr.* LVI. or as others, LVII. they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, and sailed to *Sidon*, where the Captain civilly gave the Apostle leave to go a-shoar to visit his Friends, and refresh himself: Hence to *Cyprus*, till they came to the *Fair-Havens*, a place near *Myra*, a City of *Lycia*. Here, Winter growing on, and *S. Paul* foreseeing it would be a dangerous Voyage, perswaded them to put in, and Winter. But the Captain preferring the Judgment of the Master of the Ship, and especially because of the incommodioufness of the Harbour, resolved, if possible, to reach *Phenice*, a Port of *Crete*, and to winter there. But it was not long before they found themselves disappointed of their hopes: For the calm Southerly Gale that blew before, suddenly changed into a stormy and blustering North-East Wind, which so bore down all before it, that they were forced to let the Ship drive at the pleasure of the Wind; but as much as might be, to prevent splitting, or running a-ground, they threw out a great part of their Lading, and the Tackle of the Ship. Fourteen days they remained in this desperate and uncomfortable condition, neither Sun nor Stars appearing for a great part of the time; the Apostle putting them in mind how ill advised they were in not taking his counsel: Howbeit they should be of good cheer for that that God whom he served and worshipped, had the last night purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, to let him know, that notwithstanding the present danger they were in, yet that he should be brought safe before *Nero*; that they should be shipwreck'd indeed, and cast upon an Island, but that for his sake God had spared all in the Ship, not one whereof should miscarry; and that he did not doubt, but that it would accordingly come to pass. On the Fourteenth Night, upon sounding they found themselves nigh some Coast; and therefore to avoid Rocks, thought good to come to an Anchor, till the Morning might give them better information. In the mean time the Sea-men (who best understood the danger) were preparing to get into the Skiff, to save themselves; which *S. Paul* espying, told the Captain, that unless they all stayed in the Ship, none could be safe: whereupon the Souldiers cut the Ropes, and let Skiff fall off into the Sea. Between this and Day-break the Apostle advised them to eat and refresh themselves, having all this time kept no ordinary and regular Meals, assuring them they should all escape. Himself first taking Bread, and having blessed God for it before them all, the rest followed his example, and chearfully fell to their Meat: which done, they lightned the Ship of what remained, and endeavoured to put into a Creek, which they discovered not far off. But falling into a place where two Seas met, the fore-part of the Ship ran a-ground, while the hinder-part was beaten in pieces with the violence of the Waves. Awakened with the danger they were in, the Souldiers cried out to kill the Prisoners, to prevent their escape: which the Captain, desirous to save *S. Paul*, and probably in confidence of what he had told them, refused to do; commanding, that every one should shift for himself: the issue was, that part by swimming, part on Planks, part on pieces of the broken Ship, they all, to the number of two hundred threescore and sixteen (the whole number in the Ship) got safe to shoar.

8. THE Island upon which they were cast was *Melita* (now *Malta*) situate in Acts 28. 1. the *Libyan* Sea, between *Syracuse* and *Africk*. Here they found civility among *Barbarians*, and the plain acknowledgments of a Divine Justice written among the naked and untutored notions of Mens minds. The People treated them with great humanity, entertaining them with all necessary accommodations; but while *S. Paul* was throwing sticks upon the Fire, a Viper dislodged by the heat, came out of the Wood, and fastned on his Hand. This the People no sooner espyed, but presently concluded, that surely he was some notorious Murderer, whom though the Divine vengeance had suffered to escape the Hue-and-Cry of the Sea, yet had it only reserved him for a more publick and solemn execution. But when they saw him shake it off into the Fire, and not presently swell, and drop down, they changed their opinions, and concluded him to be some God. So easily are light and credulous minds transported from one

Annot. in loc.

* Bar. ad Ann.
LVIII. n. 173.
vid. Adon. mar-
tyr. ad xii. Kal.
Febr. Martyr.
Rom. ad diem
21 Jan. Euseb.
l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.

one extreme to another. Not far off lived *Publius*, a Man of great Estate and Authority, and (as we may probably guess from an Inscription found there, and set down by *Grotius*, wherein the ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ is reckoned amongst the Roman Officers) Governour of the Island, by him they were courteously entertained three days at his own charge, and his Father lying at that time sick of a Fever and a Dysentery, *S. Paul* went in, and having prayed, and laid his hands upon him, healed him; as he did also many of the Inhabitants, who by this Miracle were encouraged to bring their diseased to him: whereby great honours were heaped upon him, and both he and his company furnished with Provisions necessary for the rest of their Voyage. Nay *Publius* himself is said by *some to have been hereby converted to the Faith, and by *S. Paul* to have been constituted Bishop of the Island, and that this was he that succeeded *S. Denys* the *Areopagite* in the See of *Athens*, and was afterwards crowned with Martyrdom.

9. AFTER three months stay in this Island, they went aboard the *Castor* and *Pollux*, a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*. At *Syracuse* they put in, and stayed three days; thence sailed to *Rhegium*, and so to *Puteoli*, where they landed, and finding some Christians there, staid a week with them, and then set forward in their Journey to *Rome*. The Christians at *Rome* having heard of their arrival, several of them came part of the way to meet them, some as far as the *Three Taverns*, a place thirty three miles from *Rome*, others as far as *Appii Forum*, fifty one miles distant thence. Great was their mutual salutation, and the encouragement which the Apostle received by it, glad no doubt to see that Christians found so much liberty at *Rome*. By them he was conducted in a kind of triumph into the City, where when they were arrived, the rest of the Prisoners were delivered over to the Captain of the Guard, and by him disposed in the common Gaol, while *S. Paul* (probably at *Julius* his request and recommendation) was permitted to stay in a private House, only with a Souldier to secure and guard him.

S E C T. VII.

S. Paul's Acts, from his coming to *Rome*, till his Martyrdom.

S. Paul summoning the chief of the Jews at *Rome*, and his discourse to them. Their refractariness and infidelity. His first hearing before *Nero*. The success of his Preaching. *Poppæa Sabina*, *Nero's* Concubine, one of his Converts. *Tacitus* his Character of her. *Onesimus* converted by *S. Paul* at *Rome*, and sent back with an Epistle to *Philemon* his Master. The great obligation which Christianity lays upon Servants to diligence and fidelity in their duty. The rigorous and arbitrary power of Masters over Servants by the Roman Laws. This mitigated by the Law of the Gospel. *S. Paul's* Epistle to the *Philippians*, upon what occasion sent. His Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and another to the *Colossians*. His second Epistle to *Timothy* written (probably) at his first being at *Rome*. The Epistle to the *Hebrews*, by whom written; and in what Language. The aim and design of it. *S. Paul's* Preaching the Gospel in the West, and in what parts of it. His return to *Rome*, when. His imprisonment under *Nero*, and why. His being beheaded. Milk instead of blood said to flow from his Body. Different Accounts of the time of his suffering. His burial where, and the great Church erected to his memory.

1. THE first thing *S. Paul* did after he came to *Rome*, was to summon the Heads of the Jewish Consistory there, whom he acquainted with the cause and manner of his coming; that though he had been guilty of no violation of the Law of their Religion, yet had he been deliver'd by the Jews into the hands of the Roman Governours, who would have acquitted him once and again, as innocent of any capital offence; but by the perverseness of the Jews he was forced, not with an intention to charge his own Nation, (already sufficiently odious to the Romans) but only to vin-

dicate

dicare and clear himself, to make his *Appeal to Cesar*: that being come he had sent for them, to let them know, that it was for his constant asserting the *Resurrection*, the hope of all true *Israelites*, that he was bound with that *Chain* which they saw upon him. The *Jews* replied, that they had received no advice concerning him, nor had any of the Nation that came from *Judea*, brought any Charge against him: only for the Religion which he had espoused, they desired to be a little better informed about it, it being every where decried both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. Accordingly upon a day appointed, he discoursed to them from morning to night concerning the Religion and Doctrine of the Holy *Jesus*, proving from the promises and predictions of the Old Testament, that he was the true *Messiah*. His discourse succeeded not with all alike, some being convinced, others persisted in their infidelity: And as they were departing in some discontent at each other, the Apostle told them, it was now too plain, God had accomplished upon them the Prophetical curse, of being left to their own wilful hardness and impenitency, to be blind at Noon-day, and to run themselves against all means and methods into irrecoverable ruin: That since the case was thus with them, they must expect, that henceforth he should turn his Preaching to the *Gentiles* who would be most ready to entertain, what they had so scornfully rejected, the glad tidings of the Gospel.

2. IT was not, probably, long after this, that he was brought to his first hearing before the Emperour, where those Friends, whom he most expected should stand by him, plainly deserted him, afraid it seems of appearing in so ticklish a cause before so unreasonable a Judge, who governed himself by no other measures, than the brutish and extravagant pleasure of his lust or humour. But God stood by him, and encouraged him; as indeed Divine consolations are many times then nearest to us, when humane assistances are farthest from us. This cowardise of theirs the Apostle had a charity large enough to cover, heartily praying, that it might not be brought in against them in the Accounts of the great Day. Two Years he dwelt at *Rome* in an House which he hired for his own use, wherein he constantly employed himself in preaching and writing for the good of the Church. He preached daily, without interruption, to all that came to him, and with good success, yea, even upon some of the better rank and quality, and those belonging to the Court it self. Among which the *Roman* * *Mar-*
tyrologie reckons *Torpes*, an Officer of prime note in *Nero's* Palace, and afterwards a
 Martyr for the Faith; and *Chrysostom* (if || *Baronius* cites him right) tells us of *Nero's*
Cupbearer, and one of his Concubines, supposed by some to have been *Poppaea Sabina*,
 of whom * *Tacitus* gives this character, that she wanted nothing to render her one of
 the most accomplished Ladies in the World, but a chaste and a virtuous mind: And I
 know not how far it may seem to countenance her conversion, at least inclination to a
 better Religion than that of Paganism, that || *Josephus* styles her a pious Woman, and
 tells us that she effectually solicited the cause of the *Jews* with her Husband *Nero*;
 and what favours *Josephus* himself received from her at *Rome*, he relates in his own
 life.

3. AMONGST others of our Apostle's Converts at *Rome* was *Onesimus*, who had formerly been servant to *Philemon*, a person of eminency in *Colosse*; but had run away from his Master, and taken things of some value with him. Having rambled as far as *Rome*, he was now converted by S. Paul, and by him returned with commendatory Letters to *Philemon* his Master, to beg his pardon, and that he might be received into favour, being now of a much better temper, more faithful and diligent, and useful to his Master than he had been before: As indeed Christianity where 'tis heartily entertained, makes men good in all relations, no Laws being so wisely contrived for the peace and happiness of the World, as the Laws of the Gospel, as may appear by this particular case of Servants; what admirable rules, what severe Laws does it lay upon them for the discharge of their duties! it commands them to honour their Masters as their Superiours, and to take heed of making their authority light and cheap by familiar and contemptible thoughts and carriages, to obey them in all honest and lawful things, and that *not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart as unto God*; that they be faithful to the trust committed to them, and manage their Masters interest with as much care and conscience as if it were their own; that they entertain their reproofs, counsels, corrections with all silence and sobriety, not returning any rude surly answers; and this carriage to be observed, not only to Masters of a mild and gentle, but of a cross and peevish disposition, that *whatever they do, they do it heartily, not as to men only, but to the Lord, knowing that of the Lord they shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for that they serve the Lord Christ*. Im-
 bued

1 Tim. 4. 16.

* Ad diem.
 XVII. Maii.
 p. 308.
 || Ad. An. 59. n.
 9. vid. Chrysost.
 adv. vituper.
 vit. monast. lib.
 I. c. 4. p. 361.
 Tom. iv.
 * Annal. l. 13.
 c. 45. p. 263.
 || Antiq. Jud.
 lib. 20. cap. 7.
 p. 697.
 De vit. sua,
 p. 999.

* L. 1. & 2. ff.
de his, qui sui
vel alieni juris
sunt, lib. 1. Tit.
6. vid. Instit.
lib. 1. Tit. 8.

bued with these excellent principles, *Onesimus* is again returned unto his Master; for Christian Religion, though it improve mens tempers, does not cancel their relations, it teaches them to abide in their callings, and *not to despise their Masters, because they are Brethren, but rather do them service because they are faithful.* And being thus improved *S. Paul* the more confidently begg'd his pardon. And indeed had not *Philemon* been a Christian, and by the principles of his Religion both disposed and obliged to mildness and mercy, there had been great reason why *S. Paul* should be thus importunate with him for *Onesimus* his pardon, the case of Servants in those days being very hard, for all Masters were looked upon as having an unlimited power over their Servants, and that not only by the * *Roman*, but by the Laws of all Nations, whereby without asking the Magistrate's leave, or any publick and formal trial, they might adjudge and condemn them to what work or punishment they pleased, even to the taking away of life it self. But the severity and exorbitancy of this power was afterwards somewhat curb'd by the Laws of succeeding Emperours, especially after the Empire submitted it self to Christianity, which makes better provision for persons in that capacity and relation, and in case of unjust and over-rigorous usage, enables them to appeal to a more righteous and impartial Tribunal, where Master and Servant shall both stand upon even ground, *where he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons.*

4. THE Christians at *Philippi* having heard of *S. Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*, and not knowing what straits he might be reduced to, raised a contribution for him, and sent it by *Epaphroditus* their Bishop, who was now come to *Rome*, where he shortly after fell dangerously sick: But being recovered, and upon the point to return, by him *S. Paul* sent his Epistle to the *Philippians*, wherein he gives them some account of the state of affairs at *Rome*, gratefully acknowledges their kindness to him, and warns them of those dangerous opinions, which the Judaizing Teachers began to vent among them. The Apostle had heretofore for some Years liv'd at *Ephesus*, and perfectly understood the state and condition of that place; and therefore now by *Tychicus* writes his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, endeavouring to countermine the principles and practices both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to confirm them in the belief and obedience of the Christian Doctrine, to represent the infinite riches of the Divine goodness in admitting the *Gentile-World* to the unsearchable Treasures of Christianity, especially pressing them to express the life and spirit of it in the general duties of Religion, and in the duties of their particular relations. Much about the same time, or a little after, he wrote his Epistle to the *Colossians*, where he had never been, and sent it by *Epaphras*, who for some time had been his fellow-prisoner at *Rome*. The design of it is for the greatest part the same with that to the *Ephesians*, to settle and confirm them in the Faith of the Gospel, against the errors both of *Judaism*, and the superstitious observances of the Heathen World, some whereof had taken root amongst them.

5. IT is not improbable but that about this, or rather some considerable time before, *S. Paul* wrote his second Epistle to *Timothy*. I know *Eusebius*, and the Ancients, and most Moderns after them, will have it written a little before his Martyrdom, induced thereunto by that passage in it, that he was then ready to be offered, and that the time of his departure was at hand. But surely its most reasonable to think, that it was written at his first being at *Rome*, and that at his first coming thither, presently after his Trial before *Nero*. Accordingly the passage before mentioned may import no more than that he was in imminent danger of his life, and had received the sentence of death in himself, not hoping to escape out of the paws of *Nero*: But that God had delivered him out of the mouth of the Lion, i. e. the great danger he was in at his coming thither: Which exactly agrees to his case at his first being at *Rome*, but cannot be reconciled with his last coming thither; together with many more circumstances in this Epistle, which render it next door to certain. In it he appoints *Timothy* shortly come to him, who accordingly came, whose name is joyned together with his in the front of several Epistles, to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and to *Philemon*. The only thing that can be levelled against this is, that in his Epistle to *Timothy*, he tells him, that he had sent *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*, by whom 'tis plain that the Epistles to the *Ephesians* and *Philippians* were dispatched; and that therefore this to *Timothy* must be written after them. But I see no inconvenience to affirm, that *Tychicus* might come to *Rome* presently after *S. Paul's* arrival there, be by him immediately sent back to *Ephesus* upon some emergent affair of that Church; and after his return to *Rome* be sent with those two Epistles. The design of the Epistle was to excite the holy man to a mighty zeal and diligence, care and fidelity in his office, and to antidote the

People

People against those poisonous principles that in those parts especially began to debauch the minds of men.

6. AS for the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, 'tis very uncertain when, or whence, and (for some Ages doubted) by whom 'twas written. * *Eusebius* tells us, 'twas not received by many, because rejected by the Church of *Rome*, as none of S. Paul's genuine Epistles. || *Origen* affirms the style and phrase of it to be more fine and elegant, and to contain in it a richer vein of purer *Greek*, than is usually found in S. Paul's Epistles; as every one that is able to judge of a style, must needs confess: That the sentences indeed are grave and weighty, and such as breath the Spirit and Majesty of an Apostle: That therefore 'twas his Judgment, that the matter contained in it had been dictated by some Apostle, but that it had been put into phrase, form, and order by some other person that did attend upon him: That if any Church owned it for S. Paul's, they were not to be condemned, it not being without reason by the Ancients ascribed to him; though God only knew who was the true Author of it. He farther tells us, that report had handed it down to his time, that it had been composed partly by *Clement* of *Rome*, partly by *Luke* the *Evangelist*. * *Tertullian* adds, that it was writ by *Barnabas*. What seems most likely in such variety of opinions is, that S. Paul originally wrote in *Hebrew*, it being to be sent to the *Jews* his Countrymen, and by some other person, probably S. *Luke*, or *Clement Romanus* translated into *Greek*; especially since both || *Eusebius* and * S. *Hierom* observed of old such a great affinity both in style and sense between this and *Clement's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, as thence positively to conclude him to be the Translator of it. 'Twas written, as we may conjecture, a little after he was restored to his liberty, and probably while he was yet in some parts of *Italy*, whence he dates his salutations. The main design of it is to magnifie *Christ* and the Religion of the Gospel, above *Moses* and the *Jewish* Oeconomy and ministrations, that by this means he might the better establish and confirm the Convert *Jews* in the firm belief and profession of Christianity, notwithstanding those sufferings and persecutions that came upon them, endeavouring throughout to arm and fortify them against Apostasy from that noble and excellent Religion, wherein they had so happily engaged themselves. And great need there was for the Apostle severely to urge them to it, heavy persecutions both from *Jews* and *Gentiles* pressing in upon them on every side, besides those trains of specious and plausible insinuations that were laid to reduce them to their Ancient Institutions. Hence the Apostle calls Apostasy *the sin which did so easily beset them*, to which there were such frequent temptations, and into which they were so prone to be betrayed in those suffering times. And the more to deter them from it, he once and again sets before them the dreadful state and condition of Apostates, those who have been once enlightened, and baptized into the Christian Faith, tasted the promises of the Gospel, and been made partakers of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, those powers which in the world to come, or this new state of things were to be conferred upon the Church, if after all this these men fall away, and renounce Christianity, it's very hard, and even impossible to renew them again unto repentance. For by this means they trod under foot, and crucified the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, profaned the blood of the Covenant, and did despite to the Spirit of Grace. So that to sin thus wilfully after they had received the knowledge of the truth, there could remain for them no more sacrifice for sins, nothing but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which should devour these adversaries. And a fearful thing it was in such circumstances to fall into the hands of the living God, who had particularly said of this sort of sinners, that if any man drew back, his soul should have no pleasure in him. Hence it is that every where in this Epistle he mixes exhortations to this purpose, that they would give earnest heed to the things which they had heard, lest at any time, they should let them slip, that they would hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end, and beware lest by an evil heart of unbelief they departed from the living God; that they would labour to enter into his rest, lest any man fall after the example of unbelief; that leaving the first principles of the doctrine of *Christ*, they would go on to perfection, shewing diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end, not being slothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises; that they would hold fast the profession of the faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together (as the manner of some was) nor cast away their confidence, which had great recompence of reward; that they had need of patience, that after they had done the will of God, they might receive the promise; that they would not be of them who drew back unto perdition, but of them that believed to the saving of the Soul; that being encompassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses,

* Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 27.

|| Apud. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 227.

* De Pudic. c. 20. p. 582. Vid. Clem. Alex. in lib. Hyp. apud Euseb. l. 6. c. 14. p. 215. || Euseb. lib. 3. c. 38. p. 110. * Hier. de Scrip. Eccl. in Clem.

Cap. 13. 24.

Heb. 12. 1.

Cap. 6. v. 4, 5, 6. Cap. 10. v. 26, 27, 28, 29.

who with the most unconquerable constancy and resolution had all holden on in the way to Heaven, they would lay aside every weight, and the sin which did so easily beset them, and run with patience the race that was set before them, especially looking unto Jesus the Author and finisher of their Faith, who endured the Cross, and despised the shame, that therefore they should consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest they should be wearied and faint in their minds, for that they had not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin; looking diligently lest any man should fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up should trouble them, and thereby many be defiled. By all which, and much more that might be observed to this purpose, it is evident, what our Apostles great design was in this excellent Epistle.

7. OUR Apostle being now after two Years custody perfectly restored to liberty, remembered that he was the *Apostle of the Gentiles*, and had therefore a larger Diocese than Rome, and accordingly prepared himself for a greater Circuit, though which way he directed his course, is not absolutely certain. By some he is said to have returned back into Greece, and the parts of Asia, upon no other ground that I know of than a few intimations in some of his Epistles that he intended to do so. By others he is thought to have preached both in the Eastern and Western parts, which is not inconsistent with the time he had after his departure from Rome. But of the latter we have

* Κηρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, διπλασομένην διδάσκει ὅλον τὸ κόσμον, καὶ ὅτι τὸ τέγμα τὸ δύσεως ἐλθόν. Ep. ad Cor. p. 8.

|| L. Cappell. Append. ad Hist. App. p. 33.

better evidence. Sure I am, an Author beyond all exception, S. Paul's contemporary and Fellow-labourer, I mean * Clemens, in his famous Epistle to the Corinthians expressly tells us, that being a Preacher both in the East and West, he taught righteousness to the whole World, and went to the utmost bounds of the West. Which makes me the more wonder at the confidence of || one (otherwise a Man of great parts and learning) who so peremptorily denies that ever our Apostle preached in the West, merely because there are no Monuments left in primitive Antiquity of any particular Churches there founded by him. As if all the particular passages of his life, done at so vast a distance must needs have been recorded, or those records have come down to us, when it is so notoriously known, that almost all the Writings and Monuments of those first Ages of Christianity are long since perished: or as if we were not sufficiently assured of the thing in general, though not of what particulars he did there. Probable it is, that he went into Spain, a thing which himself tells us he had formerly

Rom. 15. 24—28.

* Epiphani. Hæres. 27. p. 51. Chrysost. de Laud. Paul. p. 536. T. 5. Cyril Catech. 17. p. 457. Theod. in 2 Tim. 4. 16. & in Psalm. 116. id. de eur. Græc. Affec. Serm. 9. p. 125. Achan. Epist. ad Dracont. p. 737.

|| Sophron. Serm. de Natali App. Transiit ex Oceanum, vel quæ facit insula portum, Quasq; Britannus habet terras atq; ultima Thule. Venant. Fortun. de vit. Martin. lib. 3. non procul à fin.

once and again resolved on. Certain it is that the * Ancients do generally assert it, without seeming in the least to doubt of it. Theodoret and others tell us, that he preached not only in Spain, but that he went to other Nations, and brought the Gospel into the Isles of the Sea, by which he undoubtedly means Britain, and therefore elsewhere reckons the Gauls and Britains among the Nations, which the Apostles, and particularly the Tent-maker persuaded to embrace the Law of Christ. Nor is he the only Man that has said it, || others having given in their testimony and suffrage in this case.

8. TO what other parts of the World S. Paul preached the Gospel, we find no certain foot-steps in Antiquity, nor any farther mention of him, till his return to Rome, which probably was about the Eighth or Ninth Year of Nero's Reign. Here he met with Peter, and was together with him thrown into Prison, no doubt in the general Persecution raised against the Christians, under the pretence that they had fir'd the City. Besides the general, we may reasonably suppose there were particular causes of his Imprisonment. Some of the Ancients make him engaged with Peter in procuring the fall of Simon Magus, and that that derived the Emperour's fury and rage upon him, * S. Chrysostom gives us this account; that having converted one of Nero's Concubines, a Woman of whom he was infinitely fond, and reduced her to a life of great strictness and chastity, so that now she wholly refused to comply with his wanton and impure embraces; the Emperour stormed hereat calling the Apostle a Vilain and Impostour, a wretched perverter and debaucher of others, giving order that he should be cast into Prison, and when he still persisted to persuade the Lady to continue her chaste and pious resolutions, commanding him to be put to death.

* Adv. vit. Monast. vituperat. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 361. Tom. 4.

9. HOW long he remained in Prison is not certainly known; at last his Execution was resolved on; what his preparatory treatment was, whether scourged as Malefactors were wont to be in order to their death, we find not. As a Roman Citizen by the Valerian and the Porcian Law he was exempted from it: Though by the Law of the

XII. Tables

XII. Tables notorious Malefactours, condemned by the *Centuriate Assemblies*, were first to be scourged, and then put to death; and *Baronius* tells us that in the Church of S. Mary beyond the Bridge in Rome, the Pillars are yet extant, to which both Peter and Paul are said to have been bound and scourged. As he was led to Execution, he is said to have converted three of the Soldiers that were sent to conduct and guard him, who within few days after by the Emperour's command became Martyrs for the Faith. Being come to the place, which was the *Aqua Salvia*, three Miles from Rome, after some solemn preparation, he cheerfully gave his Neck to the fatal stroke. As a Roman he might not be put upon the Cross, too infamous a Death for any but the worst of Slaves and Malefactours, and therefore was beheaded, accounted a more noble kind of Death, not among the Romans only, but among other Nations, as being fitter for Persons of better Quality, and more ingenuous Education: And from this Instrument of his Execution the custom, no doubt, first arose, that in all Pictures and Images of this Apostle, he is constantly represented with a Sword in his right hand. Tradition reports (justified herein by the suffrage of many of the * Fathers) that when he was beheaded, a Liquor more like Milk than Blood flowed from his Veins, and spirted upon the Clothes of his Executioner; and had I list or leisure for such things, I might entertain the Reader with a little glosses that are made upon it. S. Chrysostom adds, that it became a means of converting his Executioner, and many more to the Faith; and that the Apostle suffered in the sixty eighth Year of his Age. Some question there is whether he suffered at the same time with Peter; many of the † Ancients positively affirm, that both suffered on the same Day, and Year: || others though allowing the same Day, tell us that S. Paul suffered not till the Year after; nay some interpose the distance of several Years. A Manuscript * Writer of the Lives and Travels of Peter and Paul, brought amongst other venerable Monuments of Antiquity out of Greece, will have Paul to have suffered no less than five Years after Peter, which he justifies by the authority of no less than Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus. But what credit is to be given to this nameless Author, I see not, and therefore lay no weight upon it, nor think it fit to be put into the balance with the testimonies of the Ancients. Certainly if he suffered not at the very same time with Peter, it could not be long after, not above a Year at most. The best is, which of them soever started first, they both came at last to the same end of the race, to those Palms and Crowns, which are reserved for all good Men in Heaven, but most eminently for the Martyrs of the Christian Faith.

10. HE was buried in the *Via Ostiensis*, about two Miles from Rome, over whose Grave about the Year CCCXVIII. † Constantine the Great, at the instance of Pope Sylvester, built a stately Church, within a Farm which Lucina a noble Christian Matron of Rome had long before settled upon that Church. He adorned it with an hundred of the best Marble Columns, and beautified it with the most exquisite workmanship; the many rich gifts and endowments which he bestowed upon it being particularly set down in the Life of Sylvester. This Church as too narrow and little for the honour of so great an Apostle, Valentinian, or rather Theodosius the Emperour, (the one but finishing what the other began) by a || Rescript directed to Sallustius Prefect of the City, caused to be taken down, and a larger and more noble Church to be built in the room of it: Farther beautified (as appears from an ancient * Inscription) by Placidia the Empress at the persuasion of Leo, Bishop of Rome. What other additions of Wealth, Honour, or Stateliness it has received since, concerns not me to enquire.

Κλέαρχος ὁ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπαύσαντο ἀπομνηνεύειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὡς καὶ καλλίστῳ θανάτῳ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ. Zenoph. de Exped. Cyri. l. 2. in fin. p. 293. Servi sunt in cruce in sublati, militibus cervices abscissa. Hist. de Bell. Hispan. p. 460.

* Ambr. de nat. Petr. & Paul. Sermon. 68. p. 294. Tom. 3. Chrys. Sermon. in Petr. & Paul. Tom. 6. p. 267.

† Dion. Corinth. ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. p. 68. Ambr. ib. Sermon. 66. p. 291. Max. Taur. Hom. 5. de Petr. & Paul. p. 231.

|| Prudent. Peristeph. in Pass. Petr. & Paul. Hymn. 12. p. 318. Arat. Ath. App. lib. 2. in fin. p. 706. Aug. de Sanct. Sermon. 28. Tom. 10. Col. 1225. Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 35.

* Λέγουσι δὲ τινες παραλαβὴν τῆς Πέτρης ἐν αὐτῷ ἔνα, καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐκείνο δέξασθαι καὶ δεσποικὸν πάθος, τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπολαβῆσαι τὴν τὴν τὴν μέγαν Ἀπόστολον Παῦλον, ὡς Ἰερὺς καὶ Εἰρηναῖος φασὶν ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσι πέντε. Καί τε τοῖς ἐγὼ περὶ τοῦ μαλλόν. Apud. P. Jun. not. in Clem. Ep. ad Cor. ad p. 8. forsan ex S. Metaphr. qui totidem verbis eadem habet ap. Suri ad. 29. Jun. n. 23. p. 357.

† Damasc. Pont. in vit. Sylvestr. vid. Onuphr. de. 7. Urb. Basil. p. 87.

* Apud. Bar. ad An. 386. p. 527. ex Cod. Vatic. * Ibid. in Ad. dend. ad Tom. 4. p. 12.

S E C T. VIII.

The Description of his Person and Temper, together with an Account of his Writings.

The Person of S. Paul described. His infirm constitution. His natural endowments. His ingenuous education, and admirable skill in humane Learning and Sciences. The Divine temper of his mind. His singular humility and condescension. His temperance and sobriety, and contempt of the World. Whether he lived a married or a single life. His great kindness and compassion. His charity to mens Bodies and Souls. His mighty zeal for Religion. His admirable industry and diligence in his Office. His unconquerable Patience: The many great troubles he underwent. His constancy and fidelity in the profession of Christianity. His Writings. His style and way of Writing, what. S. Hierom's bold censure of it. The perplexedness and obscurity of his Discourses, whence. The account given of it by the Ancients. The Order of his Epistles, what. Placed not according to the time when, but the dignity of Persons or Places to which they were written. The Subscriptions at the end of them, of what value. The Writings fathered upon S. Paul. His Gospel. A third Epistle to the Corinthians. The Epistle to the Laodiceans. His Apocalypse. His Acts. The Epistles between him and Seneca.

1. **T**HOUGH we have drawn S. Paul at large, in the account we have given of his Life, yet may it be of use to represent him in little, in a brief account of his Person, Parts, and those Graces and Vertues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his Person, we find it thus * described. He was low, and of little stature, and somewhat stooping, his complexion fair, his countenance grave, his Head small, his Eyes carrying a kind of beauty and sweetness in them, his Eye-brows a little hanging over, his Nose long, but gracefully bending, his beard thick, and like the Hair on his Head, mixed with gray Hairs. Somewhat of this description may be learnt from || *Lucian*, when in the person of *Trypho*, one of Saint Paul's disciples, he calls him by way of derision, *high-nosed, bald-pated Galilean*, that was caught up through the Air unto the *third Heaven*, where he learnt great and excellent things. That he was very low, himself plainly intimates, when he tells us, they were wont to say of him, that *his bodily presence was weak, and his Speech contemptible*; in which respect he is styled by * *Chrysostom*, *ὁ τεῖνοντος ἀνδρὸς*, a man *three cubits* [or a little more than four foot] high, and yet tall enough to reach Heaven. He seems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletick constitution, being often subject to distempers; || *S. Hierom* particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been *the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him*, and that probably he intended some such thing by *the temptation in his flesh*, which he elsewhere speaks of: Which however it may in general signifie those afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote those diseases and infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

2. **B**UT how mean soever the Cabinet was, there was a treasure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we survey the accomplishments of his mind. For as to his natural abilities and endowments, he seems to have had a clear and solid judgment, quick invention, a prompt and ready memory; all which were abundantly improved by Art, and the advantages of a more liberal Education. The Schools of *Tarsus* had sharpened his discursive faculty by *Logick*, and the Arts of reasoning, instructed him in the Institutions of Philosophy, and enriched him with the furniture of all kinds of humane Learning. This gave him great advantage above others, and ever raised him to a mighty reputation for Parts and Learning; insomuch that

* In 1. ad Cor.
c. 1. Hom. 3.
p. 349.

* Niceph. H.
Eccl. lib. 2. c. 37.
p. 196.

|| Philoparr.
Tom. 2. p. 999.

2 Cor. 10. 10.
* Serm. in Petr.
et Paul. p. 265.
Tom. 6.

|| Com. in Gal. 4.
p. 182. Tom. 9.

Gal. 4. 14.

unlawful

unlawful to bring the spoils of Egypt in the Service of the Sanctuary, and to make use of the advantages of foreign studies and humane literature to Divine and excellent purposes, so does it argue his being greatly conversant in the paths of humane Learning, which upon every occasion he could so readily command. Indeed he seemed to have been furnished out on purpose to be the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, to contend with, and confute the grave and the wise, the acute and the subtle, the sage and the learned of the Heathen World, and to wound them (as *Julian's* word was) with arrows drawn out of their own Quiver. Though we do not find, that in his disputes with the *Gentiles* he made much use of Learning and Philosophy; it being more agreeable to the designs of the Gospel, to confound the wisdom and learning of the World by the plain doctrine of the *Cross*.

3. THESE were great accomplishments, and yet but a shadow to that Divine temper of mind that was in him, which discovered it self through the whole course and method of his Life. He was humble to the lowest step of abasement and condescension, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himself. And though when he had to deal with envious and malicious adversaries, who by vilifying his person, sought to obstruct his Ministry, he knew how to magnifie his office, and to let them know, that he was *no whit inferiour to the very chiefest Apostles*; yet out of this case he constantly declared to all the World, that he looked upon himself as an *Abortive*, and an untimely Birth, as *the least of the Apostles, not meet to be called an Apostle*; and as if this were not enough, he makes a word on purpose to express his humility, styling himself *ἡχιστότερος*, *less than the least of all Saints*, yea, *the very chief of sinners*. How freely, and that at every turn, does he confess what he was before his conversion, a *Blasphemer*, a *Persecutor*, and *Injurious* both to God and Men? Though honoured with peculiar Acts of the highest grace and favour, taken up to an immediate converse with God in Heaven, yet did not this swell him with a supercilious loftiness over the rest of his Brethren: Intrusted he was with great power and authority in the Church, but never affected *dominion over mens Faith*, nor any other place, than to be an *helper of their joy*, nor ever made use of his power, but to the *edification*, not *destruction* of any. How studiously did he decline all honours and commendations that were heaped upon him? When some in the Church of *Corinth* cryed him up beyond all measures, and under the patronage of his name began to set up for a party, he severely rebuked them, told them, that it was *Christ*, not he that was crucified for them; that they had *not been baptized into his name*, which he was so far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them, and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, lest a foundation might have been laid for that suspicion; that this *Paul*, whom they so much extolled, was no more than a *Minister of Christ*, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his Church.

4. GREAT was his temperance and sobriety, so far from going beyond the bounds of regularity, that he abridged himself of the conveniences of lawful and necessary accommodations; frequent his hungrings and thirstings, not constrained only, but voluntary; it's probably thought that he very rarely drank any Wine; certain, that by abstinence and mortification he kept under and subdued his body, reducing the extravagancy of the sensual appetites to a perfect subjection to the laws of Reason. By this means he easily got above the World, and its charms and frowns, and his mind continually conversant in Heaven, his thoughts were fixed there, his desires always ascending thither; what he taught others, he practised himself, his conversation was in Heaven, and his desires were to depart, and to be with Christ; this World did neither arrest his affections, nor disturb his fears; he was not taken with its applause, nor frightened with its threatnings; he studied not to please men, nor valued the censures and judgments which they passed upon him; he was not greedy of a great Estate, or titles of honour, or rich presents from men, not seeking theirs, but *them*; food and raiment was his bill of fare, and more than this he never cared for; accounting, that the less he was clogged with these things, the lighter he should march to Heaven, especially travelling through a World over-run with troubles and persecutions. Upon this account it's probable he kept himself always within a single life, though there want not some of the Ancients who expressly reckon him in the number of the married Apostles, as **Clemens Alexandrinus*, || *Ignatius*, and some others. 'Tis true that passage is not to be found in the genuine Epistle of *Ignatius*, but yet it is extant in all those that are owned and published by the Church of Rome, though they have not been wanting to banish it out of the World, having expunged S. Paul's name out of some ancient Manuscripts, as the learned Bishop **Usher* has to their shame sufficiently discovered to the

ὁρᾷ ὅτι
καὶ τοῖς ἑλ-
λησιν περὶ
ταῖς διδασκα-
σίαις ἀληθείας, καὶ
ἐν ἐπαγρυμνε-
ται περὶ τὴν
οἰκονομίαν, καὶ
περὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
διαλεγόμενος
τινα, Ἕλλη-
νιστοὺς σιω-
πῶντας ποτὶ
μασσι. Cl. Alex.
Strom. lib. 1.
p. 299.

*Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 3.
p. 448.
|| Ignat. Ep. ad
Philadelph. in
Bibl. Pp. Gr. L.
T. 1. p. 29. Ex-
frib. l. 3. c. 30.
*Usher. Not. in
Ignat. Epist. ad

World.

Philadelph.
vid. James his
corrupt. of the
Faith. Part II.
pag. 57.

World. But for the main of the question we can readily grant it, the Scripture seeming most to favour it, that though he asserted his power and liberty to marry as well as the rest, yet that he lived always a single life.

5. HIS kindness and charity was truly admirable, he had a compassionate tenderness for the poor, and a quick sense of the wants of others: To what Church soever he came, it was one of his first cares, to make provision for the poor, and to stir up the bounty of the rich and wealthy; nay, himself worked often with his own hands, not only to maintain himself, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his charity to the Souls of men, fearing no dangers, refusing no labours, going through good and evil report, that he might gain men over to the knowledge of the truth, reduce them out of the crooked paths of vice and idolatry, and set them in the right way to eternal life. Nay, so insatiable his thirst after the good of Souls, that he affirms, that rather than his Country-men the Jews should miscarry by not believing and entertaining the Gospel, he could be content, nay wished, that *himself might be accursed from Christ for their sake, i. e.* that he might be anathematized and cut off from the Church of Christ, and not only lose the honour of the Apostolate, but be reckoned in the number of the abject and execrable persons, such as those are who are separated from the communion of the Church. An instance of so large and passionate a charity, that lest it might not find room in mens belief, he uttered it in with this solemn appeal and attestation, that *he said the truth in Christ, and lied not, his conscience bearing him witness in the Holy Ghost.* And as he was infinitely solicitous to gain men over to the best Religion in the World, so was he not less careful to keep them

2 Cor. II. 2.
Οὐκ εἶπεν ἀγαπᾷ ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὁ πολλὸς τῆς
σφοδρῆς ἐστὶν ἡν, πίθης. ἡ πόθος τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι
αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ σφοδρῶς ἐρωμεῖαν ἀκαταβύβη
αι. καὶ ἐκ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰς τεχθεῖν ἡ πόθος, ἀλλ'
ἡ σφοδρῆς οὐκ αἶσ. Chrysost. Homil. 23.
in 2. ad Corinth. p. 899.

from being seduced from it, ready to suspect every thing that might corrupt their minds from the simplicity that is in Christ.

I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy, as he told the Church of Corinth: An affection of all others the most active and vigilant, and which is wont to inspire men with the most passionate care and concernment for the good of those, for whom we have the highest measures of love and kindness. Nor was his charity to men greater than his zeal for God, endeavouring with all his might to promote the honour of his Master. Indeed zeal seems to have had a deep foundation in the natural forwardness of his temper. How exceedingly zealous was he, while in the Jews Religion, of the Traditions of his Fathers, how earnest to vindicate and assert the Divinity of the Mosaic Dispensation, and to persecute all of a contrary way, even to rage and madness; And when afterwards turned into a right channel, it ran with as swift a current, carrying him out against all opposition to ruin the Kingdom and the powers of darkness, to beat down Idolatry, and to plant the World with right apprehensions of God, and the true notions of Religion. When at Athens he saw them so much overgrown with the grossest superstition and idolatry, giving the honour that was alone due to God to Statues and Images, his zeal began to ferment, and to boil up into Paroxysms of indignation, and he could not but let them know the resentments of his mind, and how much herein they dishonoured God, the great Parent and Maker of the World.

6. THIS zeal must needs put him upon a mighty diligence and industry in the execution of his office, warning, reproving, entreating, persuading, *preaching in season and out of season*, by night and by day, by Sea and Land; no pains too much to be taken, no dangers too great to be overcome. For five and thirty years after his Conversion, he seldom staid long in one place; from Jerusalem, through Arabia, Asia, Greece, round about to Illyricum, to Rome, and even to the utmost bounds of the Western-world, *fully preaching the Gospel of Christ*: Running (says S. Hierom) from Ocean to Ocean, like the Sun in the Heavens, of which tis said, *His going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it*; sooner wanting ground to tread on, than a desire to propagate the Faith of Christ. † Nicephorus compares him

† Lib. 3. c. 1.
p. 233.

* Εὐκας ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ὁλοκλήρως ἐπὶ τῇ
μίαν ἀπολαβὴν ἔχοντι, ταῦτ' αὖ ἐρᾷ μὲν ὁ
† Παῦλος ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔρχεται, καὶ
ἀποδίδει τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν
φοῖτις τὴν γῆν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ πᾶς ἀνθρώπος
ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀποδίδει τὸν κόσμον
καὶ ἑαυτὸν. Lib. 3. Epist. 176. ad Ild. Dinc. p. 289.

to a Bird in the Air, that in a few years flew round the World: *Isidore* the * Pelusot to a winged Husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the World with the most excellent rules and institutions of life. And while the other Apostles did as 'twere chuse this or that particular Province, as the main sphere of their Ministry, S. Paul over-ran the whole World to its utmost bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the Divine Doctrines of the Gospel. Nor in this course was he tired out with the dangers and difficulties that he met with, the troubles and oppositions

oppositions that were raised against him. All which did but reflect the greater lustre upon his patience, whereof indeed (as * *Clement* observes) he became μέγας ὁ παρὰ τὰς θλίψεων, a most eminent pattern and exemplar, enduring the biggest troubles and persecutions with a patience triumphant and unconquerable. As will easily appear, if we take but a survey of what trials and sufferings he underwent, some part whereof are briefly summed up by himself: *In labours abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons frequent, in deaths often; thrice beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice suffered shipwreck, a night and a day in the deep: In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own Country-men, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the City, in perils in the Wilderness, in perils in the Sea, in perils among false Brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness; And besides these things that were without, that which daily came upon him, the care of all the Churches.* An account though very great, yet far short of what he endured, and wherein, as * *Chrysostom* observes, he does σφόδρα μετρίαν, modestly keep himself within his measures; for had he taken the liberty fully to have enlarged himself, he might have filled hundreds of *Martyrologies* with his sufferings. A thousand times was his life at stake, in every suffering he was a Martyr, and what fell but in parcels upon others, came all upon him, while they skirmished only with single parties, he had the whole Army of sufferings to contend with. All which he generously underwent with a Soul as calm and serene as the Morning-sun, no spite or rage, no fury or storms could ruffle and discompose his spirit: Nay, those sufferings, which would have broken the back of an ordinary patience, did but make him rise up with the greater eagerness and resolution for the doing of his duty.

7. HIS Patience will yet farther appear from the consideration of another, the last of those virtues we shall take notice of in him, his constancy and fidelity in the discharge of his place, and in the profession of Religion. Could the powers and policies of Men and Devils, spite and oppositions, torments and threatnings have been able to baffle him out of that Religion wherein he had engaged himself, he must have sunk under them, and left his station. But his Soul was steel'd with a courage and resolution that was impenetrable, and which no temptation either from hopes or fears could make any more impression upon, than an arrow can that's shot against a wall of marble. He wanted not sollicitation on either hand, both from Jews and Gentiles, and questionless might in some degree have made his own terms, would he have been false to his trust, and have quitted that way, that was then every where spoken against. But alas! these things weigh'd little with our Apostle, who counted not his life to be dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus. And therefore when under the sentence of death in his own apprehensions, could triumphingly say, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith:* and so indeed he did, kept it inviolably, undauntedly to the last minute of his life. The sum is, he was a man, in whom the Divine life did eminently manifest and display it self; he lived piously and devoutly, soberly and temperately, justly and righteously, careful alway to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and Man. This he tells us was his support under suffering, this the foundation of his confidence towards God, and his firm hopes of happiness in another World; *This is our rejoycing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity we have had our conversation in the World.*

8. IT is not the least instance of his care and fidelity in his office, that he did not only preach and plant Christianity in all places whither he came, but what he could not personally do, he supplied by writing. Fourteen Epistles he left upon record, by which he was not only instrumental in propagating Christian Religion at first, but has been useful to the World ever since in all Ages of the Church. We have all along in the History of his Life taken particular notice of them in their due place and order: We shall here only make some general observations and remarks upon them, and that as to the style and way wherein they are written, their Order, and the Subscriptions that are added to them. For the Apostle's style and manner of writing, it is plain and simple; and though not set off with the elaborate artifices, and affected additional of humane eloquence, yet grave and majestic, and that by the confession of his very enemies, *his Letters* (say they) *are weighty and powerfull.* Nor are there wanting in them

* Εκείνον αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς μνηστικὸς καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὅλη αἰδ' ὧν ὁ μαρτυρῶν ἀπαξ Σπονησκέ, ὁ ὅ μακάριος ἐκείνος ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ τοσούτους κινδύνους ὑπέμεινε, καὶ ἀδ' ἀμαρτίνων ἱκανὸς θορυβήσαι ψυχὴν καὶ ἀπερ' ἀπαντὶς ἐν τοσούτοις σώματι οἱ ἄγιοι ἐπαθόν, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐν ἐνὶ πάντι ἤνεγκε, καθάπερ εἰς εὐδιδόν τ' οἰκονομῶν ἐσελθὼν, καὶ πάντα ἀποδυσάμενος, ὥτως ἰσάσαι ἡμᾶς. — καὶ τὸ δὴ θαυμάσιον, ὅτι τοσαῦτα πάχων, καὶ ποικίλιν, σφόδρα μετρίαν ἦδ' — καὶ τοιγὰ μνηστικὸς βίβλος ἐπέπλησεν ἂν εἴ ἦν ἐρημὸν ἐκασὸν ἑξαπλῶσαι, ὅτε ἀλλ' ἐκ ἡθελήσει. Chrys. Homil. 24. in 2 ad Cor. p. 921.

* Epist. ad Cor. p. 8.

2 Cor. 11. 23. & seq.

2 Cor. 1. 12.

2 Cor. 10. 10.

* Ad Algal.
Quest. 11. p.
169. T. 2. Quest.
11. ad Hedib.
p. 151. ibid. in
Eph. 3. Tom. 9.
p. 216. com. in
Gal. 3. p. 170.
ibid.
|| Salmaf. de
Hellenist. Part.
1. Quest. 6.

* Apol. adv.
Jovin. T. 2.
p. 106.

a Pet. 3. 16.

* Adv. Har.
lib. 3. c. 7. p. 248.

|| Haref. 64.
p. 239.

them some strains of Rhetorick, which sufficiently testify his ability that way, had he made it any part of his study and design. Indeed S. * *Hierome* is sometimes too rude and bold in his censures of S. *Paul's* style and character. He tells us, that being an *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, and admirably skill'd in the Language of his Nation, he was greatly defective in the *Greek* Tongue, (though a late great || *Critick* is of another mind, affirming him to have been as well, or better skill'd in *Greek*, than in *Hebrew*, or in *Syriack*) wherein he could not sufficiently express his conceptions in a way becoming the majesty of his sense and the matter he delivered, nor transmit the elegance of his Native Tongue into another Language: that hence he became obscure and intricate in his expressions, guilty many times of *solecisms*, and scarce tolerable *syntax*, and that therefore 'twas not his humility, but the truth of the thing that made him say, that *he came not with the excellency of speech, but in the power of God*. A censure from any other than S. *Hierome* that would have been justly wondred at; but we know the liberty that he takes to censure any, though the reverence due to so great an Apostle might, one would think, have challenged a more modest censure at his hands. However * elsewhere he cries him up as a great Master of composition, that as oft as he heard him, he seemed to hear not words, but *thunder*; that in all his citations he made use of the most prudent artifices, using simple words, and which seemed to carry nothing but plainness along with them; but which way soever a Man turned, breathed force and thunder: He seems intangled in his cause, but catches all that comes near him; turns his back, as if intending to fly, when 'tis only that he may overcome.

9. SAINT *Peter* long since observed, that in *Paul's* Epistles there were *διανοήματα*, some things hard to be understood: which surely is not altogether owing to the profoundness of his sense, and the mysteriousness of the subject that he treats of, but in some degree to his manner of expression; his frequent *Hebraisms*, (common to him with all the Holy Writers of the New Testament) his peculiar forms and ways of speech, his often inserting *Jewish* Opinions, and yet but tacitly touching them, his using some words in a new and uncommon sense; but above all, his frequent and abrupt transitions, suddenly starting aside from one thing to another, whereby his Reader is left at a loss, not knowing which way to follow him, not a little contributing to the perplex'd obscurity of his discourses. * *Ireneus* took notice of old, that S. *Paul* makes frequent use of these *Hyperbata*, by reason of the swiftness of his arguings, and the great fervour and *impetus* that was in him, leaving many times the designed frame and texture of his discourse, not bringing in what should have immediately connected the sense and order, till some distance after: which indeed to Men of a more nice and delicate temper, and who will not give themselves leave patiently to trace out his reasonings, must needs create some obscurity. *Origen* and S. *Hierome* sometimes observe, that besides this he uses many of his Native phrases of the *Cilician* dialect, which being in a great measure foreign and exotick to the ordinary *Greek*, introduces a kind of strangeness into his discourse, and renders it less intelligible. || *Epiphanius* tells us, that by these methods he acted like a skilful Archer, hitting the mark before his adversaries were aware of it; by words misplaced making the frame of his discourse seem obscure and entangled, while in it self it was not only most true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be understood; that to careless and trifling Readers it might sometimes seem dissonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their reason along with them, it would appear full of truth, and to be disposed with great care and order.

10. AS for the order of these Epistles, we have already given a particular account of the times when, and the places whence they were written. That which is here considerable, is the Order according to which they are disposed in the sacred *Canon*. Certain it is that they are not plac'd according to the just order of time wherein they were written, the two Epistles to the *Thessalonians* being on all hands agreed to have been first written, though set almost last in order. Most probable therefore it is, that they were plac'd according to the dignity of those to whom they were sent: the reason, why those to whole Churches have the precedency of those to particular Persons; and among those to Churches, that to the *Romans* had the first place and rank assigned to it, because of the majesty of the Imperial City, and the eminency and honourable respect which that Church derived thence: and whether the same reason do not hold in others, though I will not positively assert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The last enquiry concerns the *subscriptions* added to the end of these Epistles; which, were they authentick, would determine some doubts concerning the time and place of their writing. But alas, they are of no just value and authority, not the same

in

in all Copies, different in the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions, nay wholly wanting in some ancient *Greek* Copies of the New Testament; and were doubtless at first added at best upon probable conjectures. When at any time they truly represent the Place whence, or the Person by whom the Epistle was sent, 'tis not that they are to be relied upon in it, but because the thing is either intimated or expressed in the body of the Epistle. I shall add no more but this observation, that S. Paul was wont to subscribe every Epistle with his own hand, *which is my token in every Epistle; so I write.* Which ^{2 Theff. 3. 17.} was done (says *one of the Ancients) to prevent Impostures, that his Epistles might ^{* Ambr. in loc. T. 5. p. 397.} not be interpolated and corrupted, and that if any vented Epistles under his name, the cheat might be discovered by the Apostle's own hand not being to them: and this brings me to the last consideration, that shall conclude this Chapter.

II. THAT there were some, even in the most early Ages of Christianity, who took upon them (for what ends I stand not now to enquire) to write Books, and publish them under the name of some Apostle, is notoriously known to any, though but never so little conversant in Church-Antiquities. Herein S. Paul had his part and share, several supposititious Writings being fathered and thrust upon him. We find a Gospel ascribed by some of the Ancients to him, which surely arose from no other cause, than that in some of his Epistles he makes mention of *my Gospel.* Which as *S. Hierome ^{* De Script. Eccl. in Luc.} observes, can be meant of no other than the Gospel of S. Luke, his constant Attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his intelligence. If he wrote another Epistle to the *Corinthians*, precedent to those two extant at this Day, as he seems to imply in a passage in his first Epistle, *I have wrote unto you in an Epistle, not to keep company,* &c. a ^{1 Cor. 5. 9.} passage not conveniently applicable to any part either in that or the other Epistle, nay a Verse or two after, the first Epistle is directly opposed to it; all that can be said in ^{Ver. 11.} the case is, that it long since perished, the Divine Providence not seeing it necessary to be preserved for the service of the Church. Frequent mention there is also of an Epistle of his to the *Laodiceans*, grounded upon a mistaken passage in the Epistle to the *Colos-* ^{Col. 4. 16.} *sians*: but besides that, the Apostle does not there speak of an Epistle written to the *Laodiceans*, but of one from them, *Tertullian tells us, that by the Epistle to the *Laodi-* ^{* Adv. Marc. l. 5. c. 11. p. 476. ib. c. 17. p. 481.} *ceans* is meant that to the *Ephesians*, and that Marcion the Heretick was the first that changed the title; and therefore in his enumeration of S. Paul's Epistles he omits that to the *Ephesians*, for no other Reason doubtless, but that according to Marcion's opinion he had reckon'd it up under the title of that to the *Laodiceans*. Which yet is more clear, if we consider that || Epiphanius citing a place quoted by Marcion out of the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, it is in the very same words found in that to the *Ephesians* at this Day. However such an Epistle is still extant, forged, no doubt, before S. Hierom's time, *who tells us, that it was read by some, but yet exploded and rejected by all. ^{* De Script. Eccl. in Paulo. || Epiph. Heres. 38. p. 124. August. in Joan. Tract. 98. col. 488. * H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19. p. 735.} Besides these there was his || Revelation, called also *Apokalypsis* or his *Ascension*, grounded on his ecstasie or rapture into Heaven, first forged by the *Cainian* Hereticks, and in great use and estimation among the *Gnosticks*. *Sozomen tells us, that this *Apocalypse* was owned by none of the Ancients, though much commended by some Monks in his time: and he farther adds, that in the time of the Emperour Theodosius, it was said to have been found in an under-ground Chest of Marble in S. Paul's house at *Tarsus*, and that by a particular revelation. A story which upon enquiry he found to be as false, as the Book it self was forged and spurious. The *Acts* of S. Paul are mentioned both by || Origen and *Eusebius, but not as Writings of approved and unquestionable credit ^{|| Orig. c. 2. Apoc. l. 1. c. 2. fol. 114. p. 2. * Euseb. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.} and authority. The Epistles that are said to have passed between S. Paul and Seneca, how early soever they started in the Church, yet the falshood and fabulousness of them is now too notoriously known, to need any farther account or description of them.

SECT. IX.

The principal Controversies that exercised the Church in his time.

Simon Magus the Father of Hereticks. The wretched principles and practices of him and his followers. Their asserting Angel-worship; and how countermin'd by S. Paul. Their holding it lawful to sacrifice to Idols, and abjure the Faith in times of persecution, discovered and opposed by S. Paul. Their maintaining an universal licence to sin. Their manners and opinions herein described by S. Paul in his Epistles. The great Controversie of those times about the obligation of the Law of Moses upon the Gentile Converts. The Original of it, whence. The mighty veneration which the Jews had for the Law of Moses. The true state of the Controversie, what. The Determination made in it by the Apostolick Synod at Jerusalem. Meats offered to Idols, what. Abstinence from Blood, why enjoined of old. Things strangled, why forbidden. Fornication commonly practised, and accounted lawful among the Gentiles. The hire of the Harlot, what. How dedicated to their Deities among the Heathens. The main passages in S. Paul's Epistles concerning Justification and Salvation shewed to have respect to this Controversie. What meant by Law, and what by Faith, in S. Paul's Epistles. The Persons whom he has to deal with in this Controversie, who. The Jews strange doting upon Circumcision. The way and manner of the Apostles Reasoning in this Controversie considered. His chief Arguments shewed immediately to respect the case of the Jewish and Gentile Converts. No other Controversie in those times, which his Discourses could refer to. Two Consecrations from this Discourse. I. That works of Evangelical Obedience are not opposed to Faith in Justification. What meant by works of Evangelical Obedience. This method of Justification excludes boasting, and entirely gives the glory to God. II. That the Doctrines of S. Paul and S. James about Justification are fairly consistent with each other. These two Apostles shewed to pursue the same Design. S. James his excellent Reasonings to that purpose.

1. **T**HOUGH our Lord and his Apostles delivered the Christian Religion, especially as to the main and essential parts of it, in words as plain as words could express it, yet were there Men of perverse and corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the Faith, who from different causes, some ignorantly or wilfully mistaking the doctrines of Christianity, others to serve ill purposes and designs, began to introduce errors and unsound opinions into the Church, and to debauch the minds of Men from the simplicity of the Gospel, hereby disquieting the thoughts, and alienating the affections of Men, and disturbing the peace and order of the Church. The first Ring-leader of this Heretical Crew was *Simon Magus*, who not being able to attain his ends of the Apostles, by getting a power to confer miraculous gifts, whereby he designed to greatness and enrich himself, resolved to be revenged of them, scattering the most poisonous tares among the good wheat that they had sown, bringing in the most pernicious principles; and as the natural consequent of that, patronizing the most debauched villainous practices; and this under a pretence of still being Christians. To enumerate the several *Dogmata* and damnable Heresies, first broached by *Simon*, and then vented and propagated by his disciples and followers, who though passing under different Titles, yet all centred at last in the name of *Gnosticks*, a term which we shall sometimes use for conveniency, (though it took not place till after S. Paul's time) were as needless as 'tis alien to my purpose. I shall only take notice of a few of more signal remark, and such as S. Paul in his Epistles does eminently reflect upon.

2. AMONGST the opinions and principles of *Simon* and his followers this was * one, That God did not create the World, that it was made by *Angels*. That Divine honours were due to them, and they to be adored as subordinate mediators between God and us. This our Apostle saw growing up apace, and struck betimes at the root, in that early caution he gave to the *Colossians*, to let no man beguile them in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of *Angels*, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind; and not holding the head, i. e. hereby disclaiming *Christ*, the head of the Church. But notwithstanding this warning, this error still

* Iren. l. 1.
e. 26. Epiph.
Har. 21. Tert.
de Præf. Har.
e. 33. p. 214.
Græ. 46. p. 219.
Aug. de Hæres.
Har. XXXIX.
Col. 2. 18.

continued and spread it self in those parts for several Ages, till expressly condemned by the * *Laodicean Council*. Nay, || *Theodoret* tells us, that in his time there were still * *Clin. 35.* *Oratories* erected to the *Archangel Michael* in those places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to Angels. Another *Gnostick* Principle was, * that Men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in Sacrifice to *Idols*; yea, Sacrifice to the *Idol* it self, it being lawful confidently to abjure the Faith in time of Persecution. The first part whereof *S. Paul* does largely and frequently discuss up and down his *Epistles*; the latter, wherein the sting and poison was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to those times of suffering, and greedily swallowed by many, hereby drawn into Apostacy. Against this our Apostle antidotes the Christians, especially the *Jewish Converts*, among whom the *Gnosticks* had mixed themselves, that they would not suffer themselves to be drawn aside by an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God: That notwithstanding sufferings and persecutions they would hold fast the profession of the Faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is; (the *Gnostick Hereticks*) remembring how severely God has threatened Apostates, that if any man draw back, his Soul shall have no pleasure in him, and what a fearful thing it is thus to fall into the hands of the living God. *Heb. 3. 12.* *Heb. 10. 23.* *25. 31, 38.*

3. BUT besides this, *Simon* and his followers made the gate yet wider, maintaining an universal licence to sin, * that Men were free to do whatever they had a mind to, that to press the observance of good works was a bondage inconsistent with the liberty of the Gospel; that so men did but believe in him and his dear *Helen*, they had no reason to regard Law or Prophets, but might do what they pleased, they should be saved by his grace, and not according to good works. *Irenæus* adds, (what a man might easily have inferred, had he never been told it) that they lived in all lust and filthiness; as indeed whoever will take the pains to peruse the account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the most horrible and unheard-of bestialities. These Persons *S. Paul* does as particular describe, as if he had named them, having once and again with tears warned the *Philippians* of them, that they were enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things. And elsewhere to the same effect, that they would mark them that caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, and avoid them; for they that were such, served not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, by good words and fair speeches deceiving the hearts of the simple. This I doubt not he had in his eye, when he gave those Caveats to the *Ephesians*, that fornication, and all uncleanness, and inordinate desires should not be once named amongst them, as became Saints, nor filthiness, nor unclean talking; being assured by the Christian doctrine, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, &c. could be saved: that therefore they should let no man deceive them with vain words; these being the very things for which the wrath of God came upon the children of disobedience; and accordingly it concerned them, not to be partakers with them. Plainly intimating, that this impure *Gnostick* Crew (whose doctrines and practices he does here no less truly than lively represent) had begun by crafty and insinuating arts to screw it self into the Church of *Ephesus*, cheating the People with subtle and flattering insinuations, probably persuading them that these things were but indifferent, and a part of that Christian Liberty, wherein the Gospel had instated them. By these and such like principles and practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the Faith of Christians, distracted the peace of the Church, stained and defiled the honour and purity of the best Religion in the World. *Phil. 3. 17, 18.* *Rom. 16. 17, 18.* *Eph. 5. 3, 4.*

4. BUT the greatest and most famous Controversie that of all others in those times exercised the Christian Church, was concerning the obligation that Christians were under to observe the Law of *Moses*, as necessary to their Justification and Salvation. Which because a matter of so much importance, and which takes up so great a part of *S. Paul's* *Epistles*, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great light upon them, we shall consider more at large: In order whereunto three things especially are to be enquired after, the true state of the Controversie, what the Apostles determined in this matter, and what respect the most material passages in *S. Paul's* *Epistles* about Justification and Salvation bear to this Controversie. First we shall enquire into the true state and nature of the Controversie; and for this we are to know, that when Christianity was published to the World, it mainly prevailed among the *Jews*, they being generally the first Converts to the Faith. But having been brought up in a mighty reverence and veneration for the *Mosaic* Institutions, and looking upon that *Oeconomy* as immediately contrived by God himself, delivered by Angels, settled by their

Joseph. de Bell.
Jud. l. 7. p. 21.
p. 973.

Acts 15. 1.

their great Master *Moses*, received with the most solemn and sensible appearances of Divine power and majesty, ratified by miracles, and entertained by all their forefathers as the peculiar prerogative of that Nation, for so many Ages and Generations they could not easily be brought off from it, or behold the Gospel but with an evil eye, as an enemy that came to supplant and undermine this ancient and excellent Institution. Nay, those of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive power and evidence of the Gospel, to embrace the Christian Religion, yet could not get over the prejudice of education, but must still continue their observance of those legal rites and customs, wherein they had been brought up. And, not content with this, they began magisterially to impose them upon others, even all the *Gentile* Converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another World. This controversy was first started at *Antioch*, a place not more remarkable for its own greatness than the vast numbers of *Jews* that dwelt there, enjoying great immunities granted them by the King of *Syria*. For after that *Antiochus Epiphanes* had destroyed *Jerusalem*, and laid waste the Temple, the *Jews* generally flocked hither, where they were courteously entertained by his Successors, the spoils of the Temple restored to them for the enriching and adorning of their Synagogue, and they made equally with the *Greeks* free-men of that City. By which means their numbers increased daily, partly by the resort of others from *Judea*, partly by a numerous conversion of *Profelytes*, whom they gained over to their Religion. Accordingly Christianity at its first setting out found a very successful entertainment in this place. And hither it was that some of the *Jewish* Converts being come down from *Jerusalem*, taught the Christians, that unless they observed Circumcision, and the whole Law of *Moses*, they could not be saved. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, then at *Antioch*, observing the ill influence that this had upon the minds of Men, (disturbing many at present, and causing the Apostasy of some afterwards) began vigorously to oppose this growing error; but not able to conjure down this Spirit that had been raised up, they were dispatched by the Church at *Antioch* to consult the Apostles and Governours at *Jerusalem* about this matter: Whither being come, they found the quarrel espoused among others by some Converts of the Sect of the *Pharisees* (of all others the most zealous assertors of the *Mosaic* Rites) stiffly maintaining, that besides the Gospel or the Christian Religion, it was necessary for all Converts, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, to keep to Circumcision and the Law of *Moses*. So that the state of the Controversie between the Orthodox and these *Judaizing* Christians was plainly this:

Whether Circumcision and the Observation of the Mosaic Law, or only the Belief and Practice of Christianity be necessary to Salvation?

The latter part of the Question was maintained by the Apostles, the former asserted by the *Judaizing* Zealots, making the Law of *Moses* equally necessary with the Law of *Christ*; and no doubt pretending that whatever these Men might Preach at *Antioch*, yet the Apostles were of another mind; whose sentence and resolution it was therefore thought necessary should be immediately known.

5. WE are then next to consider what determination the *Apostolick Synod* at *Jerusalem* made of this matter. For a Council of the Apostles and Rulers being immediately convened, and the Question by *Paul* and *Barnabas* brought before them, the case was canvassed and debated on all hands, and at last it was resolved upon by their unanimous sentence and suffrage, that the *Gentile* Converts were under no obligation to the *Jewish* Law, that God had abundantly declared his acceptance of them, though strangers to the *Mosaic* Oeconomy, that they were sufficiently secured of their happiness and salvation by the grace of the Gospel, wherein they might be justified and saved without Circumcision or Legal Ceremonies, a yoke from which *Christ* had now set us free. But because the Apostles did not think it prudent in these circumstances, too much to stir the exasperated humour of the *Jews*, (lest by straining the string too high at first, they should endanger their revolting from the Faith) therefore they thought of some indulgence in the case, *S. James*, then Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and probably President of the Council, propounding this expedient, that for the present the *Gentile* Converts should so far only comply with the humour of the *Jews*, as to abstain from meats offered to Idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication. Let us a little more distinctly survey the ingredients of this imposition. Meats offered to Idols, or as *S. James* in his Discourse styles them ἀλισγμένα ἢ εἰδωλῶν, the pollution of Idols, the word ἀλισγμένα properly denoting the Meats that were polluted by being consecrated to the Idol. Thus we read of מִנְחָה מְאֻשָּׁה, ἄρτος ἡλισγμένος, (as the LXX render it) polluted bread upon God's Altar, i. e. such probably

Matth. 1. 7.

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as had been before offered to Idols. So that these meats offered to the *Idols* were parts of those Sacrifices which the Heathens offered to their Gods, of the remaining portions whereof they usually made a Feast in the *Idol-temple*, inviting their Friends thither, and sometimes their Christian-friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the *Jews* by the Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt worship no other God: lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and go a whoring after their Gods, and do sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.* And the not observing of this prohibition cost the *Jews* dear, when invited by the *Moabites* to the Sacrifices of their Gods, *they did eat with them, and bowed down to their Gods.* Sometimes these remaining portions were sold for common use in the *Shambles*, and bought by Christians. Both which gave great offence to the zealous *Jews*, who looked upon it as a participation in the Idolatries of the Heathen: Of both which our Apostle discourses elsewhere at large, pressing Christians to *abstain from Idolatry*, both as to the *Idol-feasts*, and the remainders of the Sacrifice: From the former, as more immediately unlawful; from the latter, the Sacrificial Meats sold in the *Shambles*, as giving offence to weak and undiscerning Christians. For though in it self an *Idol was nothing in the World*, and consequently no honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it; yet was it more prudent and reasonable to abstain, partly because flesh-meats have no peculiar excellency in them to commend us to God; partly because all Men were not alike instructed in the knowledge of their liberty, their minds easily puzzled, and their consciences entangled, the *Gentiles* by this means hardened in their idolatrous practices, weak brethren offended; besides, though these things were in their own nature indifferent, and in a Man's own power to do, or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our liberty a snare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. From blood: This God forbade of old, and that some time before the giving of the Law by *Moses*, that *they should not eat the flesh with the blood, which was the life thereof.* The mystery of which prohibition was to instruct Men in the duties of mercy and tenderness even to brute Beasts, but (as appears from what follows after) primarily designed by God as a solemn fence and bar against murder, and the effusion of humane blood. A Law afterwards renewed upon the *Jews*, and inserted into the body of the *Mosaic* Precepts. From things strangled: that is, that they should abstain from eating of those Beasts that died without letting blood, where the blood was not thoroughly drained from them; a prohibition grounded upon the reason of the former, and indeed was greatly abominable to the *Jews*, being so expressly forbidden in their Law. But it was not more offensive to the *Jews* than acceptable to the **Gentiles*, who were wont with great art and care to strangle living Creatures, that they might stew or dress them with their blood in them, as a point of curious and exquisite delicacy. This and the foregoing prohibition, abstinence from blood, died not with the Apostles, nor were buried with other *Jewish* rites, but were inviolably observed for several Ages in the Christian Church, as we have elsewhere observed from the Writers of those times. Lastly, From Fornication: This was a thing commonly practised in the Heathen World, who generally beheld *simple* Fornication as no **sin*, and that it was lawful for persons, not engaged in wedlock, to make use of Women that exposed themselves. A Custom justly offensive to the *Jews*, and therefore to cure two evils at once, the Apostles here solemnly declare against it. Not that they thought it a thing indifferent, as the rest of the prohibited rites were, for it is forbidden by the natural Law (as contrary to that chastity and modesty, that order and comeliness which God has planted in the minds of men) but they joined it in the same *Class* with them, because the *Gentiles* looked upon it as a thing lawful and indifferent. It had been expressly forbidden by the *Mosaic* Law, *There shall be no Whore of the daughters of Israel*; and because the Heathens had generally thrown down this fence and bar set by the Law of nature, it was here again repaired by the first planters of Christianity, as by S. Paul elsewhere, *Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus; for this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.* Though after all I must confess my self inclinable to embrace *Heinsius* his ingenious conjecture, that by *πορνεία*, fornication, we are here to understand

Exod. 34. 14; 15.

Numb. 25. 2-4.

Gen. 9. 4.

Lev. 17. 10, 11; 12, &c. * Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 65. ubi vid. Casaub. in loc.

|| Prim. Christ. Part. 3. c. 1. p. 230.

* Vid. Cicero pro Caelio Orat. 34. p. 503. Tom. 2.

Terent. Adelph. Act. 1. Sc. 2. p. 166.

Σὺ δ' εἰς ἀπαντας εὐρεῖς ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων.

Σὺ γὰρ λίσσῃσι τὰτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον,

Δημόσιον δ' αὖτ' ἐστὶν ἐχθρὸν καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν.

Καὶ μοι λέγειν τὰτ' ἐστὶν ἀρετὴν Σόλων,

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν τ' ἀνδρῶν νοσήων,

Τέτρετ' ἔχοντες τ' ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν,

Ἀμαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς δὲ μὴ πρὸς ἡμῖν ἴσιν,

Στήσαι περὶ τὸν τ' ἡλικίας καὶ τὸν τ' ὄψιν

Κοινὰς ἀπασιν καὶ κατεσκευασμένους

Ἐσάσι γυναικί, ὅτε. Philon. Comic. in Delph.

ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 3. p. 569. Vid. Leg. Attic.

l. 6. Tit. 5. p. 41. & Petit. Comment. p. 474.

Deut. 23. 17.

1 Thess. 4. 2,

3. 4. 5.

* Orat. adv.
Gent. p. 27.
Tom. 1.

Prov. 7. 14.

Deut. 23. 18.

stand πόρνη μίσθωσις, the harlots hire, or the πόρνη δόξα, the offering which those persons were wont to make. For among the Gentiles nothing was more usual, than for the common Women, that prostituted themselves to lewd embraces (those especially that attended at the Temples of *Venus*) to dedicate some part of their gain, and present it to the Gods. * *Athanasius* has a passage very express to this purpose. Γυναικες γυν. εν ειδωλείοις τ. Φοινίκης πολλά πορνεία δέζοντο, ἀπαχόμεναι ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσπραττομέναις τῇ πορνείᾳ, νομίζουσαι τὴν πορνείαν ὡς εἰς εὐχάριστην ἀγῶν ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν. The women of old were wont to sit in the Idol-temples of Phœnicia, and to dedicate the gain which they got by the prostitution of their bodies as a kind of first-fruits to the Deities of the place; supposing that by fornication they should pacify their Goddesses, and by this means render her favourable and propitious to them. Where 'tis plain he uses πορνεία, or fornication, in this very sense, for that gain or reward of it, which they consecrated to their Gods. Some such thing *Solomon* had in his eye, when he brings in the Harlot thus courting the young man, *I have Peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my Vows.* These presents were either made in specie, the very money thus unrighteously gotten, or in Sacrifices bought with it, and offered at the Temple, the remainders whereof were taken and sold among the ordinary sacrificial portions. This as it holds the nearest correspondence with the rest of the rites here forbidden, so could it not chuse but be a mighty scandal to the Jews, it being so particularly prohibited in their Law, *Thou shalt not bring the hire of a Whore into the house of the Lord thy God for any Vow, for it is an abomination to the Lord.*

6. THESE prohibitions here laid upon the Gentiles, were by the Apostles intended only for a temporary compliance with the Jewish Converts, till they could by degrees be brought off from their stiffness and obstinacy, and then the reason of the thing ceasing, the obligation to it must needs cease and fail. Nay, we may observe that even while the Apostolical decree lasted in its greatest force and power, in those places where there were few or no Jewish Converts, the Apostles did not stick to give leave, that except in case of Scandal, any kind of meats, even the portions of the Idol-sacrifices might be indifferently bought and taken by Christians as well as Heathens. These were all which in order to the satisfaction of the Jews, and for the present peace of the Church, the Apostles thought necessary to require of the Converted Gentiles; but that for all the rest they were perfectly free from legal observances, obliged only to the commands of Christianity. So that the Apostolical decision that was made of this matter was this,

That (besides the temporary observation of those few indifferent Rites before mentioned) the belief and practice of the Christian Religion was perfectly sufficient to Salvation, without Circumcision, and the observation of the Mosaick Law.

This Synodical determination allayed the controversy for a while, being joyfully received by the Gentile-Christians. But alas, the Jewish zeal began again to ferment and spread it self; they could not with any patience endure to see their beloved *Moses* deserted, and those venerable Institutions trodden down, and therefore laboured to keep up their credit, and still to assert them as necessary to Salvation. Than which nothing created *S. Paul* greater trouble at every turn, being forced to contend against these Judaizing Teachers almost in every Church where he came; as appears by that great part that they bear in all his Epistles, especially that to the *Romans*, and *Galatians*, where this leaven had most diffused it self; whom the better to undeceive, he discourses at large of the nature and institution, the end and design, the antiquating and abolishing of that Mosaick Covenant, which these Men laid so much stress and weight upon.

7. HENCE then we pass to the third thing considerable for the clearing of this matter, which is to shew, that the main passages in Saint Paul's Epistles, concerning Justification and Salvation, have an immediate reference to this controversy. But before we enter upon that, something must necessarily be premised for the explicating some terms and phrases frequently used by our Apostle in this question, these two especially; what he means by *Law*, and what by *Faith*. By *Law* then 'tis plain he usually understands the Jewish Law, which was a complex body of Laws, containing Moral, Ceremonial and Judicial Precepts, each of which had its use and office as a great instrument of duty: The Judicial Laws being peculiar Statutes accommodated to the state of the Jews Commonwealth, as all civil constitutions, restrained Men from the external acts of sin: The Ceremonial Laws came somewhat nearer, and besides their Typical relation to the Evangelical state, by external and symbolical representments signified and exhibited that spiritual impurity, from which Men were to abstain:

abstain: The *Moral Laws*, founded in the natural notions of Mens minds concerning good and evil, directly urged Men to duty, and prohibited their prevarications. These three made up the intire *Code* and *Pandects* of the *Jewish* Statutes; all which our Apostle comprehends under the general notion of *the Law*, and not the moral Law singly and separately considered, in which sense it never appears that the *Jews* expected justification and salvation by it, nay rather, that they looked for it merely from the observance of the ritual and ceremonial Law: so that the moral Law is no farther considered by him in this question, than as it made up a part of the *Mosaical* Constitution, of that National and Political Covenant, which God made with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai*. Hence the Apostle all along in his discourses constantly opposes the *Law* and the *Gospel*, and the observation of the one to the belief and practice of the other, which surely he would not have done, had he simply intended the moral Law, it being more expressly incorporated into the *Gospel*, than ever it was into the Law of *Moses*. And that the Apostle does thus oppose the *Law* and *Gospel*, might be made evident from the continued series of his discourses; but a few places shall suffice. By what *Law* (says the Apostle) is boasting excluded? by the *Law of works*? i. e. by the *Mosaick* Law, in whose peculiar privileges and prerogatives the *Jews* did strangely flatter and pride themselves? Nay, but by the *Law of Faith*: i. e. by the *Gospel*, or the Evangelical way of God's dealing with us. And elsewhere giving an account of this very controversy between the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Converts, he first opposes their Persons, *Jews by nature*, and *sinners of the Gentiles*, and then infers, that a man is not justified by the works of the *Law*, by those legal observances, whereby the *Jews* expected to be justified, but by the faith of *Christ*, by a hearty belief of, and compliance with that way, which *Christ* has introduced; for by the works of the *Law*, by legal obedience, no flesh, neither *Jew* nor *Gentile*, shall now be justified. Fain would I learn, whether you received the Spirit by the works of the *Law*, or by the hearing of Faith? that is, whether you became partakers of the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, while you continued under the legal dispensation, or since you embraced the *Gospel*, and the faith of *Christ*: and speaking afterwards of the state of the *Jews* before the revelation of the *Gospel*, says he, before faith came, we were kept under the *Law*, i. e. before the *Gospel* came, we were kept under the Discipline of the legal Oeconomy, shut up unto the faith, reserved for the discovery of the Evangelical dispensation, which should afterwards [in its due time] be revealed to the World. This in the following Chapter he discourses more at large. Tell me, ye that desire to be under the *Law*, i. e. Ye *Jews* that so fondly dote upon the legal state, Do ye not hear the *Law*? i. e. understand what your own *Law* does so clearly intimate? and then goes on to unriddle what was wrapt up in the famous Allegory of *Abraham's* two Sons by his two Wives: The one *Ishmael*, born of *Hagar*, the Bond-woman, who denoted the *Jewish* Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, which according to the representation of her condition was a servile state; The other, *Isaac*, born of *Sarah*, the Free-woman, was the Son of the promise, denoting *Jerusalem* that is above, and is free, the mother of us all: i. e. The state and covenant of the *Gospel*, whereby all Christians, as the spiritual children of *Abraham*, are set free from the bondage of the *Mosaick* dispensation. By all which it is evident, that by *Law* and the works of the *Law*, in this controversy, the Apostle understands the *Law of Moses*, and that obedience which the legal dispensation required at their hands.

8. WE are secondly to enquire, what the Apostle means by *Faith*; and he commonly uses it two ways. 1. More generally for the *Gospel*, or that Evangelical way of justification and salvation, which *Christ* has brought in, in opposition to Circumcision, and the observation of those Rites, by which the *Jews* expected to be justified: and this is plain from the preceding opposition, where *Faith*, as denoting the *Gospel*, is frequently opposed to the *Law of Moses*. 2. Faith is taken more particularly for a practical belief, or such an assent to the Evangelical Revelation as produces a sincere obedience to the Laws of it, and indeed as concerned in this matter is usually taken not for this or that single vertue, but for the entire condition of the New Covenant, as comprehending all that duty that it requires of us: than which nothing can be more plain and evident; In *Christ Jesus*, i. e. under the *Gospel*, neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision; 'tis all one to Justification whether a Man be circumcised or no; What then? but Faith, which worketh by love; which afterwards he explains thus, in *Christ Jesus* neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision, but a new Creature, a renewed and divine temper of mind, and a new course and state of life. And lest all this should not be thought plain enough, he elsewhere tells us,

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that

1 Cor. 7. 19. that *circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping the Commandments of God.* From which places there needs no skill to infer, that that Faith whereby we are justified, contains in it a new disposition and state both of heart and life, and an observation of the Laws of Christ; in which respect the Apostle does in the very same Verse expound *believing, by obeying of the Gospel.* Such he assures us was that very Faith by which *Abraham* was justified, who against all probabilities of reason believed in God's Promise, *he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong, &c.* that is, he so firmly believed what God had promised, that he gave him the glory of his truth and faithfulness, his infinite power and ability to do all things. And how did he that? by acting suitably in a way of intire resignation, and sincere obedience to the divine will and Pleasure: so the Apostle elsewhere more expressly, *by Faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Faith (he tells us) *was imputed to Abraham for righteousness,* that is, God by virtue of the New Covenant made in *Christ* was graciously pleased to look upon this obedience (though in it self imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a just and a righteous Man. And upon this account we find *Abraham's* faith opposed to a perfect and unfinning obedience, for thus the Apostle tells us, that *Abraham* was justified by faith, in opposition to his being justified by such an absolute and complete obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the reward by the strict Laws of Justice; whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the way of a mean and imperfect obedience, it could not claim impunity, much less a reward, but must be intirely owing to the Divine grace and favour.

Rom. 10. 16.

Heb. 11. 8.

Rom. 4. 22.

Rom. 4. 2, 3.
&c.

9. HAVING thus cleared our way, by restoring these words to their genuine and native sense, we come to shew, how the Apostle in his discourses does all along refer to the Original Controversie between the *Jewish* and *Gentile*-Converts, whether Justification was by the observation of the *Mosaic* Law, or by the belief and practice of the Gospel: and this will appear, if we consider the Persons that he has to deal with, the way and manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other controversy on foot, to which these Passages could refer. The Persons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two sorts, pure *Jews*, and *Jewish* Converts. Pure *Jews* were those that kept themselves wholly to the Legal Oeconomy, and expected to be justified and saved in no other way, than the observation of the Law of *Moses*. Indeed they laid a more peculiar stress upon *Circumcision*, because this having been added as the Seal of that Covenant which God made with *Abraham*, and the discriminating badge whereby they were to be distinguished from all other Nations, they looked upon it as having a special efficacy in it to recommend them to the Divine acceptance. Accordingly we find in their Writings that they make this the main Basis and Foundation of their hope and confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the Precept of *Circumcision* is greater than all the rest, and equivalent to the whole Law, that the reason why God hears the Prayers of the *Israelites*, but not *Gentiles* or *Christians*, is *המילה* for the virtue and merit of *Circumcision*; yea that so great is the Power and efficacy of the Law of *Circumcision*, that no man that is circumcised shall go to * Hell. Nay, according to the idle and trifling humour of these Men, they fetch down *Abraham* from the Seat of the Blessed, and place him as Porter at the Gates of Hell, upon no other errand than to keep circumcised Persons from entering into that miserable place. However nothing is more evident, than that *Circumcision* was the Fort and Sanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their security; and accordingly we find *S. Paul* frequently disputing against *Circumcision*, as virtually comprising, in their notion, the keeping of the whole *Jewish* Law. Besides to these literal impositions of the Law of *Moses*, the *Pharisees* had added many vain *Traditions* and several superstitious usages of their own contrivance, in the observance whereof the People plac'd not a little confidence, as to that righteousness upon which they hoped to stand clear with Heaven. Against all these our Apostle argues, and sometimes by arguments peculiar to them alone. *Jewish* Converts were those, who having embraced the Christian Religion, did yet out of a veneration to their ancient Rites, make the observance of them equally necessary with the belief and practice of Christianity both to themselves and others. These last were the Persons, who as they first started the controversy, so were those against whom the Apostle mainly opposed himself, endeavouring to dismount their pretences, and to beat down their opinions level with the ground.

נורא כוח
מצוממילה
שכל מי
שחזא מהול
אינו יורד
לגהנם

Cad. Hakkem.
ap. Buxtorf. F.
pref. ad Syn.
Jud.
|| Synag. Jud.
4. p. 87.

10. THIS will yet farther appear from the way and manner of the Apostles arguing, which plainly respects this controversy, and will be best seen in some particular instances

instances of his reasonings. And first, he argues, that this way of justification urged by Jews and Jewish Converts was inconsistent with the goodness of God, and his universal kindness to Mankind, being so narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greatest part of the World. Thus in the three first Chapters of his Epistle to the Romans, having proved at large that *the whole World*, both Jew and Gentile, were under a state of guilt, and consequently liable to the Divine sentence and condemnation, he comes next to enquire by what means they may be delivered from this state of vengeance, and shews that it could not be by legal observances, but that now there was a way of righteousness or justification declared by Christ in the Gospel (intimated also in the Old Testament) extending to all, both Jews and Gentiles, whereby God with respect to the satisfaction and expiation of Christ is ready freely to pardon and justify all penitent believers: That therefore there was a way revealed in the Gospel, whereby a Man might be justified, without being beholden to the rites of the Jewish Law; otherwise it would argue that God had very little care of the greatest part of Men. *Is he God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: Seeing it is one God, which shall justify the circumcision by Faith, and the uncircumcision through Faith, Jew and Gentile in the same Evangelical way.* The force of which argument lies in this, That that cannot be necessary to our justification, which excludes the greatest part of Mankind from all possibility of being justified (and this justification by the Mosaic Law plainly does) a thing by no means consistent with God's universal love and kindness to his Creatures. Hence the Apostle magnifies the grace of the Gospel, that it has broken down the partition wall, and made way for all Nations to come in, that now there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, no difference in this respect, but all one in Christ Jesus, all equally admitted to terms of pardon and justification, in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness being accepted with him. Rom. 3. 20, 21. &c.

II. SECONDLY, He argues, that this Jewish way of justification could not be indispensibly necessary, in that it had not been the constant way whereby good Men in all Ages had been justified and accepted with Heaven. This he eminently proves from the instance of Abraham, whom the Scripture sets forth as *the Father of the faithful*, and the great Exemplar of that way, wherein all his spiritual seed, all true Believers were to be justified. Now of him 'tis evident, that he was justified and accepted with God upon his practical belief of God's power and promise, before ever Circumcision, and much more before the rest of the Mosaic Institution was in being. *Cometh this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that Faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned, when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith, which he had being yet uncircumcised, &c.* The meaning whereof is plainly this, That pardon of sin cannot be entailed upon the way of the Mosaic Law, it being evident, that Abraham was justified and approved of God, before he was circumcised, which was only added as a seal of the Covenant between God and him, and a testimony of that acceptance with God, which he had obtained before. And this way of God's dealing with Abraham, and in him with all his spiritual children, the legal Institution could not make void, it being impossible that dispensation which came so long after should disannul the Covenant which God had made with Abraham and his spiritual seed **CCCCXXX.** Years before. Upon this account, as the Apostle observes, the Scripture sets forth Abraham as the great type and pattern of justification, as *the Father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed to them also, and the father of circumcision, to them who are not of the circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that Faith of our Father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised. They therefore that are of Faith, the same are the children of Abraham: And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Heathen through Faith, preached before the Gospel (this Evangelical way of justifying) unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all Nations be blessed. So then they which be of Faith, who believe and obey, as Abraham did, shall be blessed, pardoned and saved, with faithful Abraham.* It might farther be demonstrated that this has ever been God's method of dealing with Mankind, our Apostle in the eleventh Chapter to the Hebrews, proving all along by particular instances, that it was by such a Faith as this, without any relation to the Law of Moses, that good Men were justified and accepted with God in all Ages of the World. Gal. 3. 28. Col. 3. 11. Acts 10. 35. Rom. 4. 9, 10, 11. &c. Gal. 3. 17. Rom. 4. 1, 12. Gal. 3. 7, 8, 9.

12. **THIRDLY**, He argues against this Jewish way of Justification from the deficiency and imperfection of the *Mosaick Oeconomy*, not able to justify and save sinners. Deficient, as not able to assist those that were under it with sufficient aids to perform what it required of them. *This the Law could not do, for that it was weak through the flesh, till God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, to enable us, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.* And indeed could the Law have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the Law: But alas! the Scripture having concluded all Mankind, Jew and Gentile, under sin, and consequently incapable of being justified upon terms of perfect and entire obedience, there is now no other way but this, That the promise by the Faith of Christ be given to all them that believe, i.e. this Evangelical method of justifying sincere believers. Besides, the Jewish Oeconomy was deficient in pardoning sin, and procuring the grace and favour of God, it could only awaken the knowledge of sin, not remove the guilt of it: *It was not possible that the blood of Bulls and Goats should take away sin;* all the sacrifices of the *Mosaick Law* were no farther available for the pardon of sin, than merely as they were founded in, and had respect to that great sacrifice and expiation, which was to be made for the sins of Mankind by the death of the Son of God. *The Priests, though they daily ministered, and oftentimes offered the same sacrifices, yet could they never take away sins:* No, that was reserved for a better and a higher sacrifice, even that of our Lord himself, who after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God, having compleated that, which the repeated sacrifices of the Law could never effect. So that all Men being under guilt, and no justification, where there was no remission, the Jewish Oeconomy being in it self unable to pardon, was incapable to justify. This S. Paul else where declared in an open Assembly before Jews and Gentiles; *be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man [Christ Jesus] is preached unto you forgiveness of sins: And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses.*

13. **FOURTHLY**, He proves that Justification by the *Mosaick Law* could not stand with the death of Christ, the necessity of whose death and sufferings it did plainly evacuate and take away. For if righteousness come by the Law, then Christ is dead in vain: If the *Mosaical* performances be still necessary to our Justification, then certainly it was to very little purpose, and altogether unbecoming the wisdom and goodness of God, to send his own Son into the World, to do so much for us, and to suffer such exquisite pains and tortures. Nay, he tells them, that while they persisted in this fond obstinate opinion, all that Christ had done and suffered could be of no advantage to them. *Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not again intangled in the yoke of bondage, the bondage and servitude of the Mosaick rites; Behold I Paul solemnly say unto ye, That if you be Circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing: For I testify again to every man that is Circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole Law; Christ is become of none effect to you; whosoever of you are justified by the Law, ye are fallen from Grace.* The sum of which argument is; That who-ever lay the stress of their Justification upon Circumcision, and the observances of the Law, do thereby declare themselves to be under an obligation of perfect obedience to all that the Law requires of them, and accordingly supersede the virtue and efficacy of Christ's death, and disclaim all right and title to the grace and favour of the Gospel. For since Christ's death is abundantly sufficient to attain its ends, who-ever takes in another, plainly renounces that, and rests upon that of his own chusing. By these ways of reasoning 'tis evident what the Apostle drives at in all his discourses about this Matter. More might have been observed, had I not thought, that these are sufficient to render his design, especially to the unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough.

14. **LASTLY**, That S. Paul's discourses about Justification and Salvation do immediately refer to the controversy between the *Orthodox* and *Judaizing* Christians, appears hence, that there was no other controversy then on foot, but concerning the way of Justification, whether it was by the observation of the Law of Moses, or only of the Gospel and the Law of Christ. For we must needs suppose, that the Apostle wrote with a primary respect to the present state of things, and so as they whom he had to deal with, might, and could not but understand him: Which yet would have been impossible for them to have done, had he intended them for the controversies which have since been handled with so much zeal and fierceness, and to give countenance to those many nice and subtle propositions, those curious and elaborate schemes which some men in these later Ages have drawn of these matters.

15. FROM

15. FROM the whole discourse two *Consequēces* especially plainly follow. I. *Consequēce*. That works of Evangelical obedience are not opposed to Faith in Justification. By works of Evangelical obedience, I mean such Christian duties, as are the fruits, not of our own power and strength, but God's Spirit, done by the assistance of his grace. And that these are not opposed to Faith, is undeniably evident, in that (as we observed before) Faith as including the new nature, and the keeping God's commands, is made the usual condition of Justification. Nor can it be otherwise, when other graces and virtues of the Christian life are made the terms of pardon and acceptance with Heaven, and of our title to the merits of Christ's death, and the great promise of eternal life. Thus Repentance, which is not so much a single Act, as a complex body of Christian duties, Repent and be baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost; Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out. So Charity and forgiveness of others, Forgive, if ye have ought against any, that your Father also which is in Heaven may forgive you your trespasses: For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive yours. Sometimes Evangelical obedience in general; God is no respecter of persons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanses us from all sin. What privilege then has Faith above other graces in this matter? are we justified by Faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God upon our repentance, charity and other acts of Evangelical obedience. Is Faith opposed to the works of the Mosaic Law in Justification? so are works of Evangelical obedience; Circumcision is nothing, and Uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God. Does Faith give glory to God, and set the Crown upon his head? Works of Evangelical obedience are equally the effects of Divine grace, both preventing and assisting of us, and indeed are not so much our works as his: so that the glory of all must needs be intirely resolved into the grace of God, nor can any man in such circumstances with the least pretence of reason lay claim to merit, or boast of his own achievements. Hence the Apostle magnifies the Evangelical method of Justification above that of the Law, that it wholly excludes all proud reflexions upon our selves; Where is boasting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith. The Mosaic Oeconomy fostered men up in proud and high thoughts of themselves, they looked upon themselves as a peculiar People, honoured above all other Nations of the World, the seed of Abraham, invested with mighty privileges, &c. Whereas the Gospel proceeding upon other principles, takes away all foundations of pride, by acknowledging our acceptance with God, and the power whereby we are enabled to make good the terms and conditions of it, to be the mere result of the Divine grace and mercy, and that the whole scheme of our Salvation, as it was the contrivance of the Divine wisdom, so is the purchase of the merit and satisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is Faith it self less than other graces an act of Evangelical obedience, and if separated from them, is of no moment or value in the accounts of Heaven: Though I have all Faith, and have no Charity, I am nothing. All Faith, be it of what kind soever. To this may be added, that no tolerable account can be given, why that which is on all hands granted to be the condition of our Salvation (such is Evangelical obedience) should not be the condition of our Justification: And at the great Day Christians shall be acquitted or condemned according as in this World they have fulfilled or neglected the conditions of the Gospel: The decretory sentence of absolution that shall then be passed upon good men, shall be nothing but a publick and solemn declaration of that private sentence of Justification that was passed upon them in this World; so that upon the same terms that they are justified now, they shall be justified and acquitted then, and upon the same terms that they shall then be judged and acquitted they are justified now, viz. an hearty belief, and a sincere obedience to the Gospel. From all which, I hope, 'tis evident, that when S. Paul denies men to be justified by the works of the Law; by works he either means works done before conversion, and by the strength of Mens natural powers, such as enabled them to pride and boast themselves, and lay claim to merit, or (which most what includes the other) the works of the Mosaic Law. And indeed though the controversies on foot in those times did not plainly determine his reasonings that way, yet the considerations which we have now suggested, sufficiently shew that they could not be meant of any other sense.

Acts 2. 38.

Acts 3. 17.

Mark 11. 25,

26.

Math. 6. 14;

15.

Acts 10. 34;

35;

1 John 1. 7;

1 Cor. 7. 19;

Rom. 3. 27.

1 Cor. 13. 21

16. COELECT. II. *That the Doctrines of S. Paul and S. James about Justification are fairly consistent with each other.* For seeing S. Paul's design in excluding works from Justification, was only to deny the works of the Jewish Law, or those that were meritorious, as being wrought by our own strength, and in asserting that in opposition to such works we are justified by Faith, he meant no more than that either we are justified in an Evangelical way, or more particularly by Faith intended a practical belief, including Evangelical obedience: And seeing on the other hand S. James in affirming that we are justified by Works, and not by Faith only; by Works, means no more than Evangelical obedience, in opposition to a naked and an empty Faith; these two are so far from quarreling, that they mutually embrace each other, and both in the main pursue the same design. And indeed if any disagreement seem between them, 'tis most reasonable that S. Paul should be expounded by S. James, not only because his propositions are so express and positive, and not justly liable to ambiguity, but because he wrote some competent time after the other, and consequently as he perfectly understood his meaning, so he was capable to countermince those ill principles, which some men had built upon S. Paul's assertions. For 'tis evident from several passages in S. Paul's Epistles, that even then many began to mistake his doctrine, and from his assertions about Justification by Faith, and not by Works, to infer propositions that might serve the purposes of a bad life; *They slanderously reported him to say, that we might do evil, that good might come; that we might continue in sin, that the grace of the Gospel might the more abound:* They thought that so long as they did but believe the Gospel in the naked notion and speculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the favour of God, and to serve all the purposes of Justification and Salvation, however they shaped and steered their lives. Against these men 'tis beyond all question plain, that S. James levels his Epistle, to batter down the growing doctrines of Libertinism and Profaneness, to shew the insufficiency of a naked Faith, and an empty Profession of Religion, that 'tis not enough to recommend us to the Divine acceptance, and to justify us in the sight of Heaven, barely to believe the Gospel, unless we really obey and practise it; that a Faith destitute of this Evangelical obedience is fruitless and unprofitable to Salvation; that 'tis by these works that Faith must appear to be vital and sincere; that not only Rahab, but Abraham the Father of the faithful, was justified not by a bare belief of God's promise, but an hearty obedience to God's command, in the ready offer of his Son, whereby it appears that his Faith and obedience did co-operate and conspire together, to render him capable of God's favour and approbation, and that *herein the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, that Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness,* (whence by the way, nothing can be clearer, than that both these Apostles intend the same thing by Faith in the case of Abraham's Justification, and its being imputed to him for Righteousness, viz. a practical belief and obedience to the commands of God) that it follows hence, that Faith is not of it self sufficient to justify and make us acceptable to God, unless a proportionable Obedience be joined with it; without which Faith serves no more to these ends and purposes, than a Body destitute of the Soul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exercise the functions and offices of the natural Life. His meaning in short being nothing else than that good works, or Evangelical obedience, is, according to the Divine appointment, the condition of the Gospel-covenant, without which 'tis in vain for any to hope for that pardon which Christ hath purchased, and the favour of God, which is necessary to Eternal Life.

Rom. 3. 8.
Rom. 6. 1.

Vid. Chap. 2.
v. 14, 15, &
seq.

The End of S. Paul's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. ANDREW.

S. ANDREW.

St. Andrew's Crucifixion



He was fastened to a Cross (since distinguished by his name) by
 the Proconsul at Patrae, a City of Achaia, from which he preached
 severall dayes to the Spectators. S. Hieron. Baron. Nov. 29.

Math 23. 34. Behold I send unto you prophets and
 wise men and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill &
 crucifye and some of them ye shall scourge in yo^r synagogues
 and persecute them from City to City.

The sacred History sparing in the Acts of the succeeding Apostles, and why. S. Andrew's
 Birth-place, Kindred, and way of Life. John the Baptists Ministry and Discipline.
 S. Andrew educated under his Institution. His coming to Christ, and Call to be a
 Disciple. His Election to the Apostolate. The Province assigned for his Ministry.
 In what places he chiefly preached. His barbarous usage at Sinope. His planting
 Christianity at Byzantium, and ordaining Stachys Bishop there. His travels in
 Greece, and preaching at Patrae in Achaia. His Arraignment before the Proconsul,
 and resolute defence of the Christian Religion. The Proconsul's displeasure against him,
 whence. An account of his Martyrdom. His preparatory Sufferings, and Crucifixi-
 on. On what kind of Cross he suffered. The Miracles reported to be done by his Body.
 Its translation to Constantinople. The great Encomium given of him by one of the
 Ancients.

1. **T**HE Sacred Story, which has hitherto been very large and copious in de-
 scribing the Acts of the two first Apostles, is henceforward very sparing
 in its accounts, giving us onely now and then a few oblique and accidental
 remarks concerning the rest, and some of them no farther mention'd, than the mere
 recording of their Names. For what reasons it pleased the Divine Wisdom and Provi-
 dence,

along the *Euxine* Sea (formerly called * *Axenus*, from the barbarous and inhospitable ^{* Strab. Geogr. l. 7. p. 206.} temper of the People thereabouts, who were wont to sacrifice Strangers, and of their Skulls to make Cups to drink in at their Feasts and Banquets) and so into the solitudes of *Scythia*. An ancient || Authour (though whence deriving his intelligence I ^{|| Commentar. de S. Andr. Apost. et perag. Ιουλήτω, ex-tat. Græc. in Menæo Græcor. λ. τὸ Νοεμβρίῳ. sub. lit. π'.} know not) gives us a more particular account of his travels and transactions in these parts. He tells us, that he first came to *Amynsus*, where being entertained by a Jew, he went into the Synagogue; discoursed to them concerning *Christ*, and from the prophecies of the Old Testament proved him to be the *Messiah*, and the Saviour of the World. Having here converted and baptized many, ordered their publick Meeting, and ordained them Priests, he went next to *Trapezus*, a maritim City upon the *Euxine* Sea, whence after many other places he came to *Nice*, where he staid two Years, preaching and working Miracles with great success; thence to *Nicomedia*, and so to *Chalcedon*; whence sailing through the *Propontis* he came by the *Euxine* Sea to *Heraclea*, and from thence to *Amastris*: in all which places he met with great difficulties and discouragements, but overcame all with an invincible patience and resolution. He next came to *Sinope*, a City situate upon the same Sea, a place famous both for the birth and burial of the great King *Mithridates*; here, as my Authour reports from the *Ancients* (ὡς φασὶ λῆγει παλαιοὶ) he met with his Brother *Peter*, with whom he staid a considerable time at this place: as a Monument whereof he tells us, that the Chairs made of white stone wherein they were wont to sit while they taught the People, were still extant, and commonly shewed in his time. The Inhabitants of this City were most *Jews*, who partly through zeal for their Religion, partly through the barbarousness of their manners, were quickly exasperated against the Apostle, and contriving together attempted to burn the House; wherein he sojourned: however they treated him with all the instances of savage cruelty, throwing him to the ground, stamping upon him with their Feet, pulling and dragging him from place to place, some beating him with Clubs, others pelting him with stones, and some, the better to satisfy their revenge, biting off his Flesh with their Teeth; till apprehending they had fully dispatched him, they cast him out of the City. But he miraculously recovered, and publicly returned into the City, where by and by some other Miracles which he wrought amongst them, he reduced many to a better mind, converting them to the Faith. Departing hence, he went again to *Amynsus*, and then to *Trapezus*, thence to *Neocæsarea*; and to *Samosata* (the birth-place of the witty but impious *Lucian*) where having baffled the acute and wise Philosophers, he purposed to return to *Jerusalem*. Whence after some time he betook himself to his former Provinces, travelling to the Country of the *Abasgi*, where at *Sebastople*, situate upon the *Eastern* shore of the *Euxine* Sea, between the influx of the Rivers *Phasis* and *Apsarus*, he successfully preached the Gospel to the Inhabitants of that City. Hence he removed into the Country of the *Zecchi*, and the *Bosphorani*, part of the *Asiatick* *Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, but finding the Inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he staid not long among them, onely at *Cherson*, or *Chersonesus*, a great and populous City within the *Bosphorus*, he continued some time, instructing and confirming them in the Faith. Hence taking Ship he sailed cross the Sea to *Sinope*, situate in *Paphlagonia*, the royal Seat of the great King *Mithridates*, to encourage and confirm the Churches which he had lately planted in those parts, and here he ordained *Philologus*, formerly one of *S. Paul's* Disciples, Bishop of that City.

4. HENCE he came to *Bizantium* (since called *Constantinople*) where he instructed them in the knowledge of the Christian Religion, founded a Church for Divine Worship, and ordained *Stachys* (whom *S. Paul* calls his beloved *Stachys*) first Bishop of that place. * *Baronius* indeed is unwilling to believe this, desirous to engross the ^{* Ad An. 44. N. 31. vid. ad An. 314. n. 94. 95. &c.} honour of it to *S. Peter*, whom he will have to have been the first Planter of Christianity in these Parts. But besides that *Baronius* his authority is very slight and insignificant in this case (as we have before noted in *S. Peter's* Life) this matter is expressly asserted not onely by *Nicephorus* || *Calistus*, but by another * *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and who therefore may be presumed knowing in his Predecessors in that See. Banished out of the City by him, who at that time usurped the Government, he fled to *Argyropolis*, a place near at hand, where he preached the Gospel for two Years together with good success, converting great Numbers to the Faith. After this he travelled over *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*: || *Nazianzen* adds *Epyrus*, in ^{|| Orat. 25. p. 438.} all which places for many Years he preached and propagated Christianity, and con-

* Extant apud
Sw. ad diem
30 Novemb.
p. 653.

|| De Heref.
c. 89.

firmed the Doctrine that he taught with great signs and miracles: at last he came to *Patra* a City of *Achaia*, where he gave his last and great testimony to it, I mean, laid down his own Life to ratifie and ensure it, in describing whose Martyrdom, we shall for the main follow the account that is given us in the *Acts of his * Passion*, pretended to have been written by the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of *Achaia*, present at his Martyrdom; which, though I dare not with some assert to be the genuine work of those persons, yet can it not be denied to be of considerable antiquity, being mentioned by || *Philastrius*, who flourished *Anno* 380, and were no-doubt written long before his time. The sum of it is this.

5. *ÆGEAS* *Proconsul* of *Achaia*, came at this time to *Patra*, where observing that multitudes were fallen off from Paganism, and had embraced Christianity, he endeavoured by all arts both of favour and cruelty to reduce the People to their old Idolatries. To him the Apostle resolutely makes his address, calmly puts him in mind, that he being but a judge of Men should own and revere him, who was the supreme and impartial Judge of all, that he should give him that Divine honour which was due to him, and leave off the impieties of his false Heathen-worship. The *Proconsul* derided him as an Innovatour in Religion, a propagatour of that superstition, whose Author the *Jews* had infamously put to death upon a Cross. Hereat the Apostle took occasion to discourse to him of the infinite love and kindness of our Lord, who came into the World to purchase the Salvation of Mankind, and for that end did not disdain to die upon the Cross. To whom the *Proconsul* answered, that he might persuade them so, that would believe him; for his part, if he did not comply with him in doing sacrifice to the Gods, he would cause him to suffer upon that Cross, which he had so much extolled and magnified. *S. Andrew* replied, That he did sacrifice every day to God, the onely true and omnipotent Being, not with fumes and bloody Offerings, but in the sacrifice of the immaculate Lamb of God. The issue was, the Apostle was committed to prison, whereat the people were so enraged, that it had broken out into a mutiny, had not the Apostle restrained them, persuading them to imitate the mildness and patience of our meek, humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that crown of Martyrdom that now waited for him.

6. THE next day he was again brought before the *Proconsul*, who persuaded him that he would not foolishly destroy himself, but live and enjoy with him the pleasures of this Life. The Apostle told him, that he should have with him eternal joys, if renouncing his execrable Idolatries, he would heartily entertain Christianity, which he had hitherto so successfully preached amongst them. That, answered the *Proconsul*, is the very reason, why I am so earnest with you to sacrifice to the Gods, that those whom you have every-where seduced, may by your example be brought to return back to that ancient Religion, which they have forsaken: Otherwise I'll cause you with exquisite tortures to be crucified. The Apostle replied, That now he saw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a person incapable of sober counsels, and hardened in his own blindness and folly; that as for himself, he might do his worst, and if he had one torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: The greater constancy he shewed in his sufferings for *Christ*, the more acceptable he should be to his Lord and Master. *Ægeas* could now hold no longer, but passed the sentence of death upon him; and * *Nicephorus* gives us some more particular account of the *Proconsul's* displeasure and rage against him, which was, that amongst others he had converted his wife *Maximilla*, and his brother *Stratocles* to the Christian Faith, having cured them of desperate distempers that had seized upon them.

* L. 2. c. 39.
p. 200. vid.
Menæon. Græc.
ad diem 30.
Novemb. ubi
eadem habent

Bern. Serm. 2.
de S. Andr.
p. 327.

7. THE *Proconsul* first commanded him to be scourged, seven *Lictours* successively whipping his naked body; and seeing his invincible patience and constancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be fastned to the Cross with Nails, but Cords, that so his death might be more lingring and tedious. As he was led to execution, to which he went with a chearful and composed mind, the People cried out, that he was an innocent and good Man, and unjustly condemned to die. Being come within sight of the Cross, he saluted it with this kind of address, That he had long desired and expected this happy hour, that the Cross had been consecrated by the body of *Christ* hanging on it, and adorned with his Members as with so many inestimable Jewels, that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a disciple and follower of him, who once hung upon it, and be the means to carry him safe unto his Master, having been the instrument upon which his Master had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the People to constancy and perseverance in that Religion which he had delivered to them, he was fastned to the Cross, whereon he hung two days, teaching and

and instructing the People all the time, and when great importunities in the mean while were used to the *Proconsul* to spare his life, he earnestly begged of our Lord, that he might at this time depart and seal the truth of his Religion with his blood. God heard his prayer, and he immediately expired on the last of *November*, though in what year no certain account can be recovered.

8. THERE seems to have been something peculiar in that *Cross* that was the instrument of his Martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a *Cross decussate*, two pieces of Timber crossing each other in the middle, in the form of the Letter X, hence usually known by the name of *S. Andrew's Cross*; though there want not * those who affirm him to have been crucified upon an Olive Tree. His body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by *Maximilla*, a Lady of great quality and estate, and whom *Nicephorus*, I know not upon what ground, makes wife to the *Proconsul*. As for that report of || *Gregory Bishop of Tours*, that on the Anniversary day of his Martyrdom, there was wont to flow from *S. Andrew's Tomb* a most fragrant and precious Oil, which according to its quantity denoted the scarceness or plenty of the following year; and that the sick being anointed with this Oil, were restored to their former health, I leave to the Reader's discretion, to believe what he please of it. For my part, if any ground of truth in the Story, I believe it no more, than that it was an exhalation and sweating forth at some times of those rich costly perfumes and ointments wherewith his body was embalmed after his crucifixion. Though I must confess this conjecture to be impossible, if it be true what my *Author* adds, that some years the Oil burst out in such plenty, that the stream arose to the middle of the Church. His body was afterwards, by *Constantine* the * Great, solemnly removed to *Constantinople*, and buried in the great Church, which he had built to the honour of the Apostles: which being taken down some hundred years after by || *Justinian* the Emperour, in order to its reparation, the body was found in a Wooden-Coffin, and again reposed in its proper place.

* Chrysost. in
S. Andr. Sermon
133. p. 120.
Hippol. Com-
ment. MS. Græ-
cæ. Bar. Not. in
Martyr. ad 30.
Novemb.
|| De Glor. Mar-
tyr. lib. 1. c. 31.
p. 37.

* Hieron. adv.
Vigil. p. 122.
T. 2.
|| Procop. de
edif. Justin.
lib. 1.

* Hesych.
Presb. Hierosol.
ym. apud Phot.
Cod. CCLXIX.
Col. 1488.

9. I SHALL conclude the History of this Apostle with that Encomiastick Character, which one of the * Ancients gives of him. " *S. Andrew* was the first-born of the Apostolick Quire, the main and prime pillar of the Church, a rock before the rock (ὁ ἀρχὴ Πέτρου Πέτρου) the foundation of that foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning, a caller of others before he was called himself; he preached that Gospel that was not yet believed or entertained, revealed and made known that life to his Brother, which he had not yet perfectly learn'd himself. So great treasures did that one question bring him, *Master, where dwellest thou?* which he soon perceived by the Answer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, *Come and see.* How art thou become a Prophet? whence thus Divinely skilful? what is it that thou thus foundest in *Peter's* ears? [*We have found him, &c.*] why dost thou attempt to compass him, whom thou canst not comprehend? how can he be found who is omnipresent? but he knew well what he said: We have found him, whom *Adam* lost, whom *Eve* injured, whom the clouds of sin have hidden from us, and whom our transgressions had hitherto made a stranger to us, &c. So that of all our Lord's Apostles *S. Andrew* had thus far the honour to be the first Preacher of the Gospel.

The End of S. Andrew's Life.

and instructing the People of the time, and when great opportunities in the mean-
while were used to the People to spare his life, he earnestly begged of our Lord, that
he might at this time depart and rest the truth of his Religion with his blood. God
heard his prayer, and he immediately expired on the 30th of November, though in
what year to certain account can be recovered.

§. I HAVE seen to have been something peculiar in that Case, that was the in-
terment of his Martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a very singular one, two
pieces of Timber crossing each other in the middle, in the form of the letter X,
being usually known by the name of S. Andrew's Cross; though there were not
those who affirm him to have been crucified upon an Olive Tree. His body being
taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by Mr. William
Bishop of London, and whom I know not upon what ground, that was the day of his Martyrdom, there was wont to flow from S. An-
drew's Tomb a small fragrant and precious Oil, which according to its quantity de-
termined the quantity of the following year; and that the sick being anointed
with this Oil, were restored to their former health. I leave to the Reader to judge
whether what he reads of it, for my part, it is a ground of truth in the story,
believe it no more, than that it was an exaltation and living forth as some times of
their rich costly portures and ornaments wherewith his body was adorned after his
crucifixion. Though I must confess this conjecture to be impossible, it is the true what
my Author adds, that some years the Oil burst out in such plenty, that the fragrant
scent to the middle of the Church. His body was afterwards by the Emperor
Constantine removed to Constantinople, and buried in the great Church, which
he had built to the honour of the Apostles: which being taken down some hundred
years after by Justinian the Emperor, in order to its reparation, the body was found
in a Wooden-Coffin, and again reposed in its proper place.

§. I SHALL conclude the History of this Apostle with that Ecclesiastick Cha-
racter, which one of the Ancients gives of him. "S. Andrew was the first-born
of the Apostles. Quite the main and prime pillar of the Church, a rock below
the rock (Mat. 16. 18.) the foundation of that foundation, the first-fruits
of the beginning, a caller of others before he was called himself; he preached that
 Gospel that was not yet believed or entertained, revealed and made known that the
 Son of his Brother, which he had not yet perfectly learned himself. So great testifies
 that that one question being him, Master, what shaldest thou call him? which he soon re-
 sponded by the Answer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, Lord.
 How art thou become a Prophet? whence thus Divinely skillful? what
 is it that thou thus findest in Peter's ears? [The Answer follow him, Sec.] why dost
 thou attempt to compare him, whom thou canst not comprehend? how can he be
 found who is omnipresent? but he knew well what he said: We have found him,
 whom thou hast lost, whom thou hast injured, whom the clouds of sin have hidden from
 thee, and whom our transgressions had hidden from thee, O Lord, to thee of all
 our Lords Apostles S. Andrew had thus far the honour to be the first Presbyter of the
 Gospel.

The End of S. Andrew's Life.

THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Great.

S. James Major



He being the Son of Zebedee, was at the Command of Herod beheaded at Hierusalem. Act 12.



Act. 12. 2. About that time Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of John with a sword.

S. James, why surnamed the Great. His Country and Kindred. His alliance to Christ. His Trade and way of Life. Our Lord brought up to a Manual Trade. The quick repartee of a Christian Schoolmaster to Libanius. His being called to be a Disciple, and great readiness to follow Christ. His election to the Apostolick Office, and peculiar favours from Christ. Why our Lord chose some few of the Apostles to be witnesses of the more private passages of his life. The imposition of a new name at his election to the Apostleship. He and his Brother styled Boanerges, and why. The zeal and activity of their temper. Their ambition to sit on Christ's right and left hand in his Kingdom, and confident promise of suffering. This ill resented by the rest. Our Lord's discourse concerning the nature of the Evangelical State. Where he preached after Christ's Ascension. The Story of his going into Spain exploded. Herod Agrippa in favour with the Roman Emperours. The Character of his temper. His zeal for the Law of Moses. His condemning S. James to death. The sudden conversion of his Accuser, as he was led to Martyrdom. Their being beheaded. The Divine Justice that pursued Herod. His grandeur and arrogance at Cæsarea. His miserable death. The story of the Translation of S. James his Corps to Compostella in Spain, and the Miracles said to be done there.

i. SAINT

1. **S** AINT James firnamed the Great, either because of his Age, being much elder than the other, or for some peculiar honours and favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by Country a *Galilean*, born, probably, either at *Capernaum*, or *Bethsaida*, being one of *Simon Peter's* Partners in the Trade of Fishing. He was the Son of *Zebdai*, or *Zebedee*, (and probably the same whom the *Jews* mention in their *Talmud*, רבי יעקוב בר זבדי *Rabbi James, or Jacob the Son of Zebedee*) a Fisherman, and the many servants which he kept for that employment (a circumstance not taken notice of in any other) speak him a Man of some more considerable note in that Trade and way of life; *ὁπότερον ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ μετοικούντων Ἀνδρῶν*, as *Nicephorus* notes. His Mother's name was *Mary*, firnamed *Salome*, called first *Tavi-phia*, says an ancient *Arabick** writer, the Daughter, as is most probable, not Wife of *Cleopas*, Sister to *Mary* the Mother of our Lord; not her own Sister properly so called (the Blessed Virgin being in all likelihood an onely Daughter) but Cousin-german, styled her Sister, according to the mode and custom of the *Jews*, who were wont to call all such near relations by the names of *Brothers* and *Sisters*; and in this respect he had the honour of a near relation to our Lord himself. His education was in the Trade of Fishing; no employment is base that's honest and industrious, nor can it be thought mean and dishonourable to him, when it is remembred, that our Lord himself, the Son of God, stoop'd so low, as not only to become the [reputed] Son of a *Carpenter*, but during the retirements of his private life, to work himself at his Father's Trade, not devoting himself merely to contemplations, nor withdrawing from all useful society with the World, and hiding himself in the solitudes of an *Anchoret*, but busying himself in an active course of life, working at the Trade of a *Carpenter*, and particularly (as one of the * Ancients tells us) making *Ploughs* and *Tokes*. And this the Sacred History does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally asserted by the Ancient Writers of the || Church: A thing so notorious, that the Heathens used to object it as a reproach to Christianity. Thence that smart and acute* *repartee* which a Christian Schoolmaster made to *Libanius* the famous Oratour at *Antioch*, when upon *Julian's* expedition into *Persia* (where he was killed) he asked in scorn, *what the Carpenter's Son was now a doing*. The Christian replied with Salt enough, That the great *Artificer* of the World, whom he scoffingly called the *Carpenter's Son*, was making a *Coffin* for his Master *Julian*; the news of whose death was brought soon after. But this only by the way.
- Mark 6. 3.
 Mark 13. 55.
 * Τέκτων νομι-
 ζόμενος ταύ-
 τας τὰ τέκ-
 τονικά ἐργα
 εἰργάζετο ἐν
 ἀνθρώποις ὧν
 ἀεστὰ καὶ ζύ-
 γα· διὰ τούτων
 καὶ τὰ δικαι-
 οσώμενα σύμβο-
 λα διδόντων,
 καὶ ἐπεργάζον-
 ται. J. Mart. dial.
 cum Tryph.
 p. 316.
 || Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτασσόμενος, ἀπαύτως πόρον συμπληρὸν παρὰ καὶ ὑπεικὸς συνδιδέσκειν. Ἀνθρώποις γὰρ ὄντες δίκαιοι μὲν καὶ εὐσεβεῖς, πένητες δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναγκαῖον ἐκ δ' ὁποροῦ, ὅτι. πάντας καὶ τὰ συνδιαφέρειν τοῦ ποίους τὸ ἐπιτελεῖν ἐπι-
 δείκνυσι. Bas. Constit. Monast. c. 4. p. 764. Tom. 2. vid. Hilar. in Matth. Can. 4.
 * Theod. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 18. p. 105.

2. S. JAMES applied himself to his Father's Trade, not discouraged with the meanness, not sinking under the difficulties of it; and, as usually the blessings of Heaven meet men in the way of an honest and industrious diligence, it was in the exercise of this calling, when our Saviour passing by the Sea of *Galilee*, saw him and his brother in the Ship, and called them to be his Disciples. A Divine power went along with the word, which they no sooner heard, but cheerfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not stay to dispute his commands, to argue the probability of his promise, solicitously to enquire into the minute consequences of the undertaking, what troubles and hazards might attend this new employment, but readily delivered up themselves to whatever services he should appoint them. And the cheerfulness of their obedience is yet farther considerable, that they left their aged Father in the Ship behind them. For elsewhere we find others excusing themselves from an immediate attendance upon Christ, upon pretence that they must go bury their Father, or take their leave of their kindred at home. No such slight and trivial pretences could stop the resolution of our Apostles; who broke through these considerations, and quitted their present interests and relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them to desert their Father, an aged person, and in some measure unable to help himself. For, besides that they left servants with him to attend him, it is not cruelty to our Earthly, but obedience to our Heavenly Father, to leave the one that we may comply with the call and summons of the other. It was the triumph of *Abraham's* Faith, when God called him to leave his kindred and his Father's house, to go out, and sojourn in a foreign Country, not knowing whither he went. Nor can we doubt but that *Zebedee* himself would have gone along with them, had not his Age given

Luke 9. 59—
 61.

given him a *Superfedeas* from such an active and ambulatory course of life. But though they left him at this time, it's very reasonable to suppose, that they took care to instruct him in the doctrine of the *Messiah*, and to acquaint him with the glad tidings of Salvation, especially since we find their Mother *Salome* so hearty a friend to, so constant a follower of our Saviour: But this (if we may believe the account which one gives of it) was after her Husband's decease, who probably lived not long after, dying before the time of our Saviour's Passion.

Zachar. Chry-
sopol. Comm.
in Concord.
Evang. p. 111.

3. IT was not long after this, that he was called from the station of an ordinary Disciple, to the Apostolical Office, and not onely so, but honoured with some peculiar acts of favour beyond most of the Apostles, being one of the Three, whom our Lord usually made choice of to admit to the more intimate transactions of his life, from which the others were excluded. Thus with *Peter* and his Brother *John* he was taken to the miraculous raising of *Jairus* his Daughter; admitted to *Christ's* glorious transfiguration upon the Mount, and the discourses that there passed between him and the two great Ministers of Heaven; taken along with him into the Garden, to be a Spectator of those bitter Agonies, which the Holy *Jesus* was to undergo as the preparatory sufferings to his Passion. What were the reasons of our Lord's admitting these three Apostles to these more special acts of favour than the rest, is not easie to determine: though surely our Lord, who governed all his actions by Principles of the highest prudence and reason, did it for wise and proper ends; whether it was that he designed these three to be more solemn and peculiar witnesses of some particular passages of his life, than the other Apostles, or that they would be more eminently useful and serviceable in some parts of the Apostolick Office, or that hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them against suffering, as intending them for some more eminent kinds of Martyrdom or Suffering, than the rest were to undergo.

4. NOR was it the least instance of that particular honour which our Lord conferr'd upon these three Apostles, that at his calling them to the *Apostolate* he gave them the addition of a new Name and Title. A thing not unusual of old, for God to impose a new Name upon Persons, when designing them for some great and peculiar services and employments; thus he did to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. Nay, the thing was customary among the *Gentiles*, as had we no other instances, might appear from those which the Scripture gives us, of *Pharoah's* giving a new Name to *Joseph*, when advancing him to be *Vice-Roy* of *Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, &c. Thus did our Lord in the Election of these three Apostles, *Simon* be surnamed *Peter*, *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, and *John* his Brother be surnamed *Boanerges*, which is, the Sons of Thunder. What our Lord particularly intended in this Title, is easier to conjecture, than certainly to determine; some think it was given them upon the account of their being present in the Mount, when a voice came out of the Cloud, and said, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. The like whereto when the People heard at another time, they cried out, *that it Thundred*. But besides that this account is in it self very slender and inconsiderable, if so, then the title must equally have belonged to *Peter*, who was then present with them. Others think it was upon the account of their

Mark 3. 16, 17.
Hieron. Comm.
in Marc. c. 3.
p. 92. T. 9.
Gaudent. Brix.
Tract. 1. de
Leit. Evang.
scu, in ordine, 8.
Matth. 17. 5.
John 12. 29.

loud, bold and resolute preaching Christianity to the World, fearing no threatnings, daunted with no oppositions, but going on to *thunder* in the Ears of the secure sleepy World, rousing and awakening the consciences of Men with the earnestness and vehemency of their Preaching, as Thunder, which is called *God's Voice*, powerfully shakes the natural World, and breaks in pieces the *Cedars of Lebanon*: Or, if it relate to the Doctrines they delivered, it may signifie their teaching the great mysteries and speculations of the Gospel in a profounder strain than the rest; *ὡς ὁ βοῶν τῆς ὁρομῆς τῆς τῆς Ζεβεδαίου, ὡς μεγαλοκτύπος ὁ θεολογικῶς*, as *Theophylact* notes; which how true it might be of our S. *James*, the Scripture is wholly silent; but was certainly verified of his Brother *John*, whose Gospel is so full of the more sublime notions and mysteries of the Gospel concerning *Christ's* Deity, eternal pre-existence, &c. that he is generally affirmed by the Ancients, not so much to *speak*, as *thunder*. Probably the expression may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent Ministers, in this new scene and state of things, the introducing of the Gospel or Evangelical dispensation, being called a *Voice shaking the Heavens and the Earth*, and so is exactly correspondent to the native importance of the Word, signifying an *Earth-quake*, or a vehement commotion that makes a noise like to Thunder.

Filios Zebedæi Boanerges, hoc est, filios tonitruum vocat, siquidem divina eorum prædicatio magnum quendam & illustrem sonitum per terrarum Orbem datura erat. Vict. Antioch. comment. in Marc. cap. 2.

Comment. in
Marc. 3. p. 205.

Heb. 12. 26.
Hag. 2. 7. ubi
מִרְעָס
tremefaciām.
מִרְעָס
Filii commotionis seu magnæ concussionis.

5. HOWEVER, it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had respect to the furious and resolute disposition of those two Brothers, who seem to have been of a more fierce and

and

Luke 9. 54.

and fiery temper than the rest of the Apostles: whereof we have this memorable instance. Our Lord being resolved upon his Journey to *Jerusalem*, sent some of his Disciples as Harbingers to prepare his way, who coming to a Village of *Samaria*, were uncivilly rejected, and refused entertainment; probably because of that old and inveterate quarrel that was between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, and more especially at this time, because that our Saviour seemed to slight Mount *Gerizim* (where was their staple and solemn place of worship) by passing it by, to go worship at *Jerusalem*; the reason in all likelihood why they denied him those common courtesies and conveniences due to all Travellers. This piece of rudeness and inhumanity was presently so deeply resented by S. *James*, and his Brother, that they came to their Master to know, whether as *Elias* did of old, they might not pray down Fire from Heaven to consume these barbarous and inhospitable People. So apt are Men for every trifle to call upon Heaven, to minister to the extravagancies of their own impotent and unreasonable passions. But our Lord rebukes their zeal, tells them they quite mistook the case, that this was not the frame and temper of his Disciples and Followers, the nature and design of that Evangelical dispensation, that he was come to set on foot in the World, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle Institution, than what was under the Old Testament in the times of *Moses* and *Elias*, the Son of Man being come not to destroy Mens lives, but to save them.

Matth. 20. 20.

6. THE Holy *Jesus* not long after set forwards in his Journey to *Jerusalem* in order to his crucifixion, and the better to prepare the minds of his Apostles for his death and departure from them, he told them what he was to suffer, and yet that after all he should rise again. They whose minds were yet big with expectations of a temporal power and monarchy, understood not well the meaning of his discourses to them. However S. *James* and his Brother supposing the Resurrection that he spoke of, would be the time, when his Power and Greatness would commence, prompted their Mother *Salome* to put up a petition for them. She, presuming probably on her relation to *Christ*, and knowing that our Saviour had promised his Apostles, that when he was come into his Kingdom, they should sit upon twelve Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of *Israel*; and that he already honoured her two Sons with an intimate familiarity, after leave modestly asked for her address, begg'd of him, that when he took possession of his Kingdom, her two Sons *James* and *John* might have the principal places of honour and dignity next his own Person, the one sitting on his right hand, and the other on his left, as the Heads of *Judah* and *Joseph* had the first places among the Rulers of the Tribes in the Jewish Nation. Our Lord directing his discourse to the two Apostles, at whose suggestion he knew their Mother had made this address, told them, they quite mistook the nature of his Kingdom, which consisted not in external grandeur and sovereignty, but in an inward life and power, wherein the highest place would be to take the greatest pains, and to undergo the heaviest troubles and sufferings; that they should do well to consider, whether they were able to endure, what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter Cup which he was to drink of, and to go through that Baptism, wherein he was shortly to be baptized in his own Blood. Our Apostles were not yet cured of their ambitious humour, but either not understanding the force of our Saviour's reasonings, or too confidently presuming upon their own strength, answered, that they could do all this. But he, the goodness of whose nature ever made him put the best and most candid interpretation upon Mens words and actions, yea even those of his great enemies, did not take the advantage of their hasty and inconsiderate reply, to treat them with sharp and quick reproofs, but mildly owning their forwardness to suffer, told them, that as for sufferings, they should indeed suffer as well as he (and so we accordingly find they did, S. *James* after all dying a violent death, S. *John* enduring great miseries and torments, and might we believe *Chrysostom* and *Theophylact*, Martyrdom it self, though others nearer to those times assure us, he died a natural death) but for any peculiar honour or dignity he would not by an absolute and peremptory favour of his own dispose it any otherwise, than according to those rules and instructions which he had received of his Father. The rest of the Apostles were offended with this ambitious request of the Sons of *Zebedee*; but our Lord to calm their passions, discoursed to them of the nature of the Evangelical state, that it was not here, as in the Kingdoms and seignories of this World, where the great ones receive homage and fealty from those that are under them, but that in his service humility was the way to honour, that who-ever took most pains, and did most good, would be the greatest Person, pre-eminence being here to be measured by industry and diligence, and a ready condescension to the meanest offices that might be subservient to the Souls of

of Men, and that this was no more than what he sufficiently taught them by his own Example, being come into the World, not to be served himself with any pompous circumstances of state and splendour, but to serve others, and to lay down his life for the redemption of Mankind. With which discourse the storm blew over, and their exorbitant passions began on all hands to be allayed and pacified.

7. WHAT became of S. James after our Saviour's Ascension, we have no certain account either from Sacred, or Ecclesiastical stories. * *Sophronius* tells us, that he preached to the dispersed Jews, which surely he means of that dispersion that was made of the Jewish Converts after the death of Stephen. The Spanish writers generally contend, that having preached the Gospel up and down Judaea and Samaria, after the death of Stephen he came to these Western parts, and particularly into Spain (some add Britain and Ireland) where he planted Christianity, and appointed some select Disciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to Jerusalem. Of this there are no footsteps in any Ancient Writers, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church, when 'tis mentioned by * *Isidore* the Breviary of || *Toledo*, and Arabick Book of * *Anastasia*, Patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Passions of the Martyrs, and some others after them. Nay, || *Baronius* himself, though endeavouring to render the account as smooth and plausible as he could, and to remove what objections lay against it; yet after all confesses, he did it onely to shew, that the thing was not impossible, nor to be accounted such a monstrous and extravagant Fable, as some Men made it to be, as indeed elsewhere he plainly and peremptorily both denies and disproves it. He could not but see, that the shortness of this Apostle's Life, the Apostles continuing all in one entire body at Jerusalem, even after the dispersing of the other Christians, probably not going out of the bounds of Judaea for many years after our Lord's Ascension, could not comport with so tedious and difficult a voyage, and the time which he must necessarily spend in those parts: And therefore 'tis safest to confine his ministry to Judaea, and the parts thereabouts, and to seek for him at Jerusalem, where we are sure to find him.

8. HEROD Agrippa, Son of Aristobulus, and Grandchild of Herod the Great (under whom Christ was born) had been in great favour with the late Emperour Caligula, but much more with his successour Claudius, who confirmed his predecessour's grant with the addition of Judaea, Samaria, and Abylene, the remaining portions of his Grandfather's dominions. Claudius being settled in the Empire, over comes Herod from Rome to take possession, and to manage the affairs of his new acquired Kingdom. A Prince noble and generous, prudent and politick, thoroughly versed in all the arts of Courtship, able to oblige enemies, and to mollifie or decline the displeasure of the Emperour, (witness his subtil and cunning insinuations to Caligula, when he commanded the Jews to account him a God) he was one that knew, let the wind blow which way it would, how to gain the point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable demeanour, but withal πατήρ καὶ ἀδελφός ἡμῶν, a mighty zealot for the Jewish Religion, and a most accurate observer of the Mosaic Law, keeping himself free from all legal impurities, and suffering no day to pass over his head, in which he himself was not present at sacrifice. Being desirous in the entrance upon his sovereignty to insinuate himself into the favour of the populacy, and led no less by his own zealous inclination, he saw no better way, than to fall heavy upon the Christians, a sort of Men, whom he knew the Jews infinitely hated, as a novel and an upstart Sect, whose Religion proclaimed open defiance to the Mosaic Institutions. Hereupon he began to raise a persecution, but alas, the commonalty were too mean a sacrifice to fall as the onely victim to his zeal and popular designs, he must have a fatter and more honourable sacrifice. It was not long before S. James his stirring and active temper, his bold reproving of the Jews, and vigorous contending for the truth and excellency of the Christian Religion, rendred him a fit object for his turn. Him he commands to be apprehended, cast into prison, and sentence of death to be passed upon him. As he was led forth to the place of * *Martyrdom*, the Souldier or Officer that had guarded him to the Tribunal, or rather his Accuser (and so || *Suidas* expressly tells us it was) having been convinced by that mighty courage and constancy which S. James shewed at the time of his tryal, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the Apostle's feet, and heartily begged pardon for what he said against him. The holy Man, after a little surprise at the thing, raised him up, embraced and kissed him. Peace (said he) my son, peace be to thee, and the pardon of thy faults. Whereupon before them all he publicly

* *Apud Hieron. de script. Eccles. in Jacob.*

* *Pseudo. Dextr. Chronic. Vincent. Bellova. Spec. Historial. l. 8. c. 7.*

* *De vit. & obit. SS. utriusque Test. c. 72.*

|| *Brev. Tol. Insit. S. Isidori.*

* *Apud Marian. de adv. Jac. in Hispan. c. 7. p. 11. sed ex fide aliorum.*

|| *In Not. ad Martyrol. ad 25. Jul. p. 452. vid. Orat. Roder. Archiep. Tol. in Not. G. Loays. ad decret. Gund. Tom. 4. Concil. p. 548, 549.*

Ad Ann. DCCCXVI. Numb. 69, 70. Tom. 9.

* *Vid. Epist. e-jus ad Caium Imp. ap. Phil. de Legat. ad Caium, p. 1031. & seq. || Joseph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. 19. c. 7. p. 677.*

* *Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. lib. 7. apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 9. p. 46. || Suid. in voc. Ἡρώδης.*

lickly professed himself to be a Christian, and so both were beheaded at the same time: Thus fell S. James, the Apostolick Proto-Martyr, the first of that number that gained the Crown, cheerfully taking that cup, which he had long since told his Lord he was most ready to drink of.

* Antiquit.
Jud. lib. 19.
cap. 7. p. 679.

9. BUT the Divine vengeance, that never sleeps, suffered not the death of this innocent and righteous Man to pass long unrevenge; of which, though S. Luke gives us but a short account, yet * Josephus, who might himself remember it, being a youth at that time of seven or eight years of age, sets down the story with its particular circumstances, agreeing almost exactly with the Sacred Historian. Shortly after S. James his Martyrdom, Herod removed to *Cæsarea*, being resolved to make war upon the neighbouring *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*: While he was here, he proclaimed solemn fights and festival entertainments to be held in honour of *Cæsar*, to which there flocked a great confluence of all the Nobility thereabouts. Early in the morning on the second day he came with great state into the *Theatre*, to make an Oration to the people, being clothed in a Robe all over curiously wrought with silver, which encountering with the beams of the rising Sun, reflected such a lustre upon the eyes of the people (who make sensible appearances the onely true measures of greatness) as begot an equal wonder and veneration in them, crying out (prompted no doubt by flatterers, who began the cry) that it was some *Deity* which they beheld, and that he who spake to them must be something above the ordinary standard of humanity. This impious applause Herod received without any token of dislike, or sense of that injury that was hereby done to the supreme Being of the World. But a sudden accident changed the scene, and

Hunc Josephi locum laudans Eusebius, totam bubonis mentionem prætermittit, ejusque loco ἀγγελον substituit: mente quidem piâ, at malâ fide.

turned the *Comick* part into a black fatal *Tragedy*. Looking up, he espied an *Owl* sitting upon a rope over his head (as probably also he did an *Angel*, for so S. Luke mentions it) which he presently beheld as the fatal messenger of his death, as heretofore it had been of his prosperity and success. An incurable melancholy immediately seized upon his mind, as exquisite torments did upon his bowels caused without

Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἡδὴ καὶ ἀσέβητον ἐπιτάλλομαι τὸ βίον. Ὁ δὲ χαρῆμα τὸ εὐχρηστικὸν τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν φωνὰς ἐλεγχόντος ὁ καὶ θεὸς ἀθανάτος ὑπὸ ὑμῶν, ἡδὴ θανάτου ἀπάγομαι. Joseph. ib.

question by those *Worms* S. Luke speaks of, which immediately fed and preyed upon him. Behold, said he, turning to those about him, the *Deity* you admired, and your selves evidently convinced of flattery and falsehood; see me here by the *Laws* of Fate condemned to die, whom just now you styled immortal. Being

removed into the Palace, his pains still increased upon him, and though the people mourned and wept, fasted and prayed for his life and health, yet his acute torments got the upper hand, and after five days put a period to his life. But to return to S. James.

* Comment. de
Translat.
S. Jacob. Apost.
ap. Joan. d
Bosc. Biblioth.
Floriac. Part.
2. p. 183, &c.

10. BEING put to death, his Body is said to have taken a second voyage into *Spain*, where we are with confidence enough told it rests at this day. Indeed I met with a very formal account of its translation thither, written (says the *Publisher*) above DC years since, by a Monk of the *Abby* of *La-Fleury* in * *France*: The sum whereof is this: The Apostles at *Jerusalem* designing *Ctesiphon* for *Spain*, ordained him Bishop, and others being joyned to his assistance, they took the Body of S. James, and went on board a Ship without Oars, without a Pilot, or any to steer and conduct their voyage, trusting onely to the merits of that Apostle, whose remains they carried along with them. In seven days they arrived at a Port in *Spain*, where landing, the Corps was suddenly taken from them, and with great appearances of an extraordinary light from Heaven, conveyed they knew not whither, to the place of its interment. The Men you may imagine were exceedingly troubled, that so great a treasure should be ravished from them; but upon their prayers and tears they were conducted by an Angel to the place where the Apostle was buried, twelve miles from the Sea. Here they addressed themselves to a rich noble *Matron*, called *Luparia*, who had a great Estate in those parts, but a severe Idolatress, begging of her that they might have leave to entomb the bones of the holy Apostle within her jurisdiction. She entertained them with contempt and scorn, with curses and execrations, bidding them go and ask leave of the King of the Country. They did so, but were by him treated with all the instances of rage and fury, and pursued by him, till himself perished in the attempt. They returned back to their *Gallecian* *Matron*, whom by many miracles, and especially the destroying a *Dragon* that miserably infested those parts, they at last made Convert to the Faith, who thereupon commanded her Images to be broken, the Altars to be demolished, and her own *Idol-Temple*, being cleansed and purged, to be dedicated to the honour of S. James, by which means Christianity mightily prevailed, and triumphed

umphed over Idolatry in all those Countries. This is the sum of the Account, call it Romance or History, which I do not desire to impose any farther upon the Reader's Faith, than he shall find himself disposed to believe it. I add no more, than that his Body was afterwards translated from *Iria Flavia* (the place of its first repose) to *Compostella*: Though a Learned * person will have it to have been but one and the same place, and that after the story of S. James had gotten some footing in the belief of Men, it began to be called *ad Jacobum Apostolum*, thence in after-times *Giacomo Postolo*, which was at last jumbled into *Compostella*; where it were to tire both the Reader and my self, to tell him with what solemn veneration, and incredible miracles reported to be done here, this Apostle's reliques are worshipped at this day: Whence || *Baronius* calls it the great store-house of Miracles lying open to the whole World, and wisely confesses it one of the best arguments to prove, that his Body was translated thither. And I should not scruple to be of his mind, could I be assured that such Miracles were truly done there.

* If. Voss. *Observat. in Pomp. Mal. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 231.*

|| *Ad Ann. 816. Num. 72.*

The End of the Life of S. James the Great.

I declared that such miracles were truly done there.
 his Body was translated thither. And I should not scruple to be of his mind, could
 the whole World, and wisely considers it one of the best arguments to prove, that
 his Body was translated thither. Whence Balaam calls it the great hor-
 dle of Miracles lying open to all eyes: Whence the great hor-
 dle of Miracles are worshipped as
 both the Reader and myself to tell him with what solemn veneration, and in-
 creased Fidelity which was at last jumbled into Compendious; where it were to the
 the belief of him, it began to be called an *Incarnation*, thence in after times
 the same place, and after the story of St. James had gotten some footing in
 to Church this, "Though a Learned Person will have it to have been but one and
 his Body was afterwards translated from his Place (the place of its first repose)
 than he shall find himself disposed to believe it. I add no more, than that
 a Romanist or a Jew, which I do not chuse to make any farther upon the Reader's
 engaged over looking in all these Compendious. This is the sum of the Account, can

THE LIFE OF S. JOHN.

S. IOHN Evangelist.



Having lived to a great age, he died at Ephesus 68 years after our Lord's Passion, and was Buried neere that City. Baron.

St. John put into a Cauldron of boyling oyl.



Joh. 21.22. Peter said, Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?
1 Pet. 4.12. Think it not strange concerning a fiery trial that is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you.

His kindred and relations; whether eminent for Nobility. The peculiar favours conferred upon him by our Saviour. His lying in our Lord's Bosom. His attending at the crucifixion. Our Lord's committing the Blessed Virgin to his care. The great intimacy between him and Peter. How long he resided at Jerusalem. Asia his Apostolical Province, His planting Christianity there, and in other parts of the East. His being sent Prisoner to Rome, and being put into a Caldron of boiling Oil by the command of Domitian. His banishment into Patmos. Transportation, what kind of Punishment. Capitis Diminutio what. His writing the Apocalypse there. The tradition of his hand wherewith he wrote it, being still kept there. His return to Ephesus, and governing the affairs of that Province. His great Age, and Death. The fancy of his being still alive, whence derived by the Ancients. The Tradition of his going alive into his Grave, and sleeping there. Several Counterfeits pretending themselves to be S. John. His Celibacy; whether he was ever married. His humility. His admirable love and charity, and heartily recommending it to the last. His charity to Mens Souls. His endangering himself to reclaim a debauched young Man. His singular vigilancy against Hereticks and Seducers. His publick disowning Cerinthus, his company. Cerinthus, who; and what his Principles. The Heresie of Ebion what. Nicolaitans, who; whence their original. An account of Nicolas the Deacon's separating from

from his Wife. The vile principles and practices of his pretended followers. S. John's Writings. His Revelation. Dionysius Alexandrinus his judgment concerning it, and its Authour. Asserted and proved to be S. John's. The ground of doubting, what. His Gospel when and where written. The solemn preparation, and causes moving him to undertake it. The subject of it sublime and mysterious. Admired and cited by Heathen Philosophers. Its Translation into Hebrew. His first Epistle, and the design of it. His two other Epistles to whom written, and why not admitted of old. His style and way of writing considered. The great Encomium given of his Writings by the Ancient Fathers.

* Propter generis Nobilitatem notus erat Pontifici, & Judaeorum insidias non timebat, in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in Atrium, & staret solus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque salvatoris in sua reciperet. Hieron. Epitaph. Marcell. p. 119. Tom. 1.

1. **S**AINTE John was a Galilean, the Son of Zebedee and Salome, younger Brother to S. James, together with whom he was brought up in the Trade of Fishing. * Saint Hierom makes him remarkable upon the account of his Nobility, whereby he became acquainted with the High-priest, and resolutely ventured himself amongst

the Jews at our Saviour's Trial, prevailed to introduce Peter into the Hall, was the onely Apostle that attended our Lord at his Crucifixion, and afterwards durst own his Mother, and keep her at his own house. But the Nobility of his Family, and especially that it should be such as to procure him so much respect from persons of the highest rank and quality, seems not reconcilable with the meanness of his Father's Trade, and the privacy of his Fortunes. And for his acquaintance with the High-priest, I should rather put it upon some other account, especially if it be true what * Nicephorus relates, That he had lately sold his Estate left by his Father in Galilee to Annas the High-priest, and had therewith purchased a fair house at Jerusalem, about Mount Sion, whence he became acquainted with him. Before his coming to Christ, he seems for some time to have been Disciple to John the Baptist, being probably that other Disciple that was with Andrew, when they left the Baptist to follow our Saviour, so particularly does he relate all circumstances of that transaction, though modestly, as in other parts of his Gospel, concealing his own name. He was at the same time with his Brother called by our Lord both to the Discipleship and Apostolate, by far the youngest of all the Apostles, as the Ancients generally affirm, and his great Age seems to evince, living near LXX Years after our Saviour's suffering.

* H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 104. vid. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135. ubi hereditatem hanc Caiapha venditam fuisse dicit.

2. THERE is not much said concerning him in the Sacred Story, more than what is recorded of him in conjunction with his Brother James, which we have already remarked in his life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Master, being the Disciple whom Jesus loved, that is, treated with more freedom and familiarity than the rest. And indeed he was not onely one of the Three, whom our Saviour made partakers of the private passages of his life, but had some instances of a more particular kindness and favour conferred upon him. Witness his lying in our Saviour's bosom at the Paschal Supper, it being the custom of those times to lie along at meals upon Couches, so that the second lay with his head in the bosom of him that was before him; this honourable place was not given to any of the Aged, but reserved for our Apostle: Nay, when Peter was desirous to know, which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them should betray him, and durst not himself propound the question, he made use of S. John (whose familiarity with him might best warrant such an enquiry) to ask our Lord; who thereupon made them understand, 'twas Judas whom he designed by the Traitour. This favour our Apostle endeavoured in some measure to answer by returns of particular kindness and constancy to our Saviour, staying with him, when the rest deserted him. Indeed upon our Lord's first apprehension he fled after the other Apostles, it not being without some probabilities of reason, that the Ancients conceive him to have been that young Man that followed after Christ, having a linnen cloth, cast about his naked body, whom when the Officers laid hold upon, he left the linnen cloth, and fled naked from them. This in all likelihood was that Garment that he had cast about him at Supper (for they had peculiar Vestments for that purpose) and being extremely affected with the Treason, and our Lord's approaching Passion, had forgot to put on his other Garments, but followed him into the Garden in the same habit wherewith he arose from the Table, it being then night, and so less liable to be taken notice of either by himself or others. But though he fled at present to avoid that sudden violence that was offered to him, yet he soon recovered himself, and returned back to seek his Master,

Mark. 14. 51.

confi-

confidently entred into the High-priests Hall, and followed our Lord through the several passages of his Trial, and at last waited upon him (and for any thing we know, was the onely Apostle that did so) at his Execution, owning him, as well as being own'd by him, in the midst of arms and guards, and in the thickest crouds of his most inveterate enemies. Here it was that our Lord by his last *Will and Testament* made upon the Cross, appointed him *Guardian* of his own Mother, the Blessed *Virgin*; *When he saw his Mother, and the Disciple standing by whom he loved, he said unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son*; see, here is one that shall supply my place, and be to thee instead of a Son, to love and honour thee, to provide and take care for thee: *and to the Disciple he said, Behold thy Mother*; Her, whom thou shalt henceforth deal with, treat and observe with that duty and honourable regard, which the relation of an indulgent Mother challenges from a pious and obedient Son: whereupon he took her into his own House, her Husband *Joseph* being some time since dead, and made her a principal part of his charge and care. And certainly the Holy *Jesus* could not have given a more honourable testimony of his particular respect and kindness to S. *John* than to commit his own Mother, whom of all earthly Relation he held most dear and valuable, to his trust and care, and to substitute him to supply that duty which he himself paid her while he was here below.

3. AT the first news of our Lord's return from the dead, he, accompanied with *Peter*, presently hasted to the Sepulchre. Indeed there seems to have been a mutual intimacy between these two Apostles more than the rest. 'Twas to *Peter* that S. *John* gave the notice of *Christ's* appearing, when he came to them at the Sea of *Tiberias* in the habit of a stranger; and it was for *John* that *Peter* was so solicitously inquisitive to know what should become of him. After *Christ's* Ascension, we find these two going up to the Temple at the Hour of Prayer, and miraculously healing the poor impotent Cripple; both preaching to the People, and both apprehended together by the Priests and Sadducees, and thrown into Prison, and the next Day brought forth to plead their cause before the Sanhedrim. These were the two chosen by the Apostles to send down to *Samaria*, to settle and confirm the Plantations which *Philip* had made in those Parts, where they confounded and baffled *Simon the Magician*, and set him in an hopeful way to repentance. To these S. *Paul* addressed himself, as those that seemed to be Pillars among the rest, who accordingly gave him the right hand of fellowship; and confirmed his mission to the Gentiles.

4. IN the division of Provinces which the Apostles made among themselves, *Asia* fell to his share, though he did not presently enter upon his charge, otherwise we must needs have heard of him in the account which S. *Luke* gives of S. *Paul's* several Journeys into, and residence in those Parts. Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt still in his own House at *Jerusalem*, at least till the death of the Blessed *Virgin* (and this is plainly asserted by *Nicephorus* from the account of those Historians that were before him) whose death (says *Eusebius*) hapned *Ann. Christi XLVIII.* about Fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension. Some time (probably Years) after her death he took his Journey into *Asia*, and industriously applied himself to the propagating Christianity, Preaching where the Gospel had not yet taken place, and confirming it where it was already planted. Many Churches of note and eminency were of his foundation, *Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea*, and others; but his chief place of residence was at *Ephesus*, where S. *Paul* had many Years before settled a Church, and constituted *Timothy* Bishop of it. Nor can we suppose that he confined his Ministry merely to *Asia Minor*, but that he preached in other Parts of the East; probably in *Parthia*, his first Epistle being anciently intituled to them; and the *Jesuits* in the relation of their success in those Parts, assure us that the *Bassoræ*, (a People of *India*) constantly affirm from a Tradition received from their Ancestours, that S. *John* planted the Christian Faith there.

5. HAVING spent many Years in this employment, he was at length accused to *Domitian*, who had begun a Persecution against the Christians, as an eminent assertor of *Atheism* and *Impiety*, and a publick subverter of the Religion of the Empire. By his command the Proconsul of *Asia* sent him bound to *Rome*, where his treatment was, what might be expected from so bloody and barbarous a Prince; he was cast into a Caldron of boiling Oil, or rather Oil set on fire. But that Divine Providence that secured the three *Hebrew* Captives in the flames of a burning Furnace, brought this holy Man safe out of this, one would have thought, unavoidable destruction. An instance of so signal preservation, as

John 19. 26,
27.

* Euseb. l. 3.
c. 1. p. 71.

H. Eccl. lib. 2.
c. 42. p. 206.
* In Chron. ap.
Bar. ad An. 48.

* Litter. Jesuit.
Ann. 1555.

|| Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipse adhuc Cathedra Apostolorum, &c. habes Romam, &c. ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in Oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in Insulam relegatur. Tertull. de praescript. Haeret. c. 36. p. 215.

had

had been enough to persuade a considering Man, that there must be a Divinity in that Religion that had such mighty and solemn attestations. But Miracles themselves will not convince him, that's fallen under an hard heart, and an injudicious mind. The cruel Emperour was not satisfied with this, but presently orders him to be banished and transported into an Island. This was accounted a kind of capital punishment, *ἡ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐξορία* *ἡ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐξορία* *ἡ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐξορία* says * *Pachymer*, speaking of this very instance, where, *κεφαλὴν πτωχία* is not to be understood as extending to life, but loss of privilege. Therefore this punishment in the *Roman Laws* is called *Capitis diminutio* (and it was the second sort of it) because the person thus banished was disfranchised, and the City thereby lost an *head*. It succeeded in the room of that ancient punishment, *Aqua & Igni interdicere*, to interdict a Person the use of Fire and Water, the two great and necessary conveniences of Man's life, whereby was tacitly implied, that he must for his own defence betake himself into banishment; it being unlawful for any to accommodate him with Lodging or Diet, or any thing necessary to the support of life. This banishing into Islands was properly called *Deportatio*, and was the worst and severest kind of Exile, whereby the criminal forfeited his Estate, and being bound and put on Shipboard was by publick Officers transported into some certain Island (which none but the Emperour himself might assign) there to be confined to perpetual banishment. The place of our S. John's banishment was not *Ephesus*, as * *Chrysostom* by a great mistake makes it, but *Patmos*, a disconsolate Island in the *Archipelago*, where he remained several Years, instructing the Inhabitants in the Faith of *Christ*: Here it was about the latter end of *Domitian's* Reign, (as *Irenæus* tells us) that he wrote his *Apocalypse* or Book of *Revelations*, wherein by frequent Visions and Prophetical representations, he had a clear Scheme and Prospect of the state and condition of Christianity in the future Periods and Ages of the Church. Which certainly was not the least instance of that kindness and favour which our Lord particularly shew'd to this Apostle; and it seemed very suitable at this time, that the goodness of God should over-power the malice of Men, and that he should be entertained with the more immediate converſes of Heaven, who was now cut off from all ordinary conversation and society with Men. In a *Monastery* of *Caloires*, or *Greek Monks* in this Island, they shew a *dead Man's hand* at this * day, the Nails of whose Fingers grow again as oft as they are pared; which the *Turks* will have to be one of their Prophets, while the *Greeks* constantly affirm it to have been the hand of S. John, wherewith he wrote the *Revelations*; and, probably, both true alike.

6. *DOMITIAN*, whose prodigious wickedness had rendred him infamous and burthenſome to the World, being taken out of the way, *Cocceius Nerva* succeeded in the Empire, a prudent Man, and of a milder and more sober temper. He rescinded the odious Acts of his Predecessors, and by publick *Edict* recalled those from banishment, whom the fury of *Domitian* had sent thither. S. John taking the advantage of this general Indulgence, left *Patmos*, and returned into *Asia*, his antient charge, but chiefly fixed his Seat at *Ephesus*, the care and presidency whereof (*Timothy* their Bishop having been lately martyr'd by the People for persuading them against their *Heathen-feasts* and Sports, especially one called *Καταγώνιον* wherein was a mixture of debauchery and idolatry) he took upon him, and by the assistance of seven Bishops governed that large spacious Diocese; * *Nicephorus* adds, that he not only managed the affairs of the Church, ordered and disposed the Clergy, but erected Churches, which surely must be meant of *Oratories*, and little places for their solemn conventions, building Churches in the modern notion, not being consistent with the poverty and persecution of Christians in those early times. Here at the request of the Bishops of *Asia* he wrote his *Gospel* (they are Authors of no credit and value, that make it written during his confinement in the *Isle* of *Patmos*) with very solemn preparation, whereof more when we come to consider the Writings which he left behind him.

7. HE lived till the time of *Trajan*, about the beginning of whose Reign he departed this Life, very Aged, about the Ninety eighth or Ninety ninth Year of his

Life, as is generally thought. * *Chrysostom* is very positive, that he was an Hundred Years old when he wrote his *Gospel*, and that he liv'd full Twenty Years after: The same is affirmed by || *Dorotheus*, that he liv'd CXX. Years; which to me seems altogether improbable, seeing by this account he must

be Fifty Years of Age when called to be an Apostle, a thing directly contrary to the whole consent and testimony of Antiquity, which makes him very young at the time of his calling to the Apostolick Office. He died (says the * *Arabian*) in the expectation of his blessed-

* Παράφρ. ἐκ
τῆς Επιστ. 1. 78
* Αγ. Διονυσ.
p. 444.
|| Inj. lib. 1.
Tit. 16. sect. 2.
l. 2. & 4. ff. de
Pen. lib. 48.
Tit. 19. l. 3.
ad Leg. Jul.
Pecul. ib. Tit.
13. vid. l. 6.
& 7. de Interd.
& Rel. ib. Tit.
22.

* Argum. Epist.
ad Ephes.
p. 1032.
|| Adv. Hæres.
lib. 5. c. 30.
p. 485.

* Bellon. ob-
serv. lib. 2.
c. 11. p. 205.

Oros. lib. 7.
c. 11. p. 303.
fac. 2.

|| Martyr. Ti-
moth. apud
Phot. Cod. 254.
Col. 1401.
1404.
* Lib. 2. c. 42.
p. 206.

* Καταλαμβάνει τὸ ἔρπον, καὶ ἔσσε διαλεί-
πων σωμάτων τὸ ἐναγέλιον ὡς ἐστὶν ἑκατὸν, δι-
αρκέσας ἕως ὅλων ἑκατὸν ἔκαστον. Chrysost.
Serm. de S. Joan. Ap. p. 505. T. 6.
|| Synops. de Vit. & Mort. App. Bibl. Pp. T. 3.
p. 147.

* Apud Kirsten.
de Vit. Quat.
Evang. p. 52.

bleſſedneſs, by which he means his quiet and peaceable departure, in oppoſition to a violent and bloody death. Indeed *Theophylaſt*, and others before him conceive him to have died a Martyr, upon no other ground, than what our Saviour told him and his Brother, that they ſhould *drink* of the Cup, and be *baptized* with the *Baptiſm* wherewith he was baptized, which || *Chryſoſtom* ſtrictly underſtands of Martyrdom and a bloody death. It was indeed literally verified of his Brother *James*; and for him, though, as * *S. Hierom* obſerves, he was not put to death, yet may he be truly ſtyled a Martyr, his being put into a Veſſel of boiling Oil, his many Years baniſhment, and other ſufferings in the cauſe of *Chriſt*, juſtly challenging that honourable title, though he did not actually lay down his life for the teſtimony of the Goſpel, it being not want of good-will either in him or his enemies, but the Divine Providence immediately over-ruling the powers of Nature, that kept the malice of his enemies from its full execution.

8. OTHERS on the contrary are ſo far from admitting him to dye a Martyr, that they queſtion, nay, peremptorily deny that he ever died at all. The firſt Aſſertour, and that but obliquely, that I find of this opinion, was *Hyppolytus* Biſhop of *Porto*, and Scholar to *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who ranks him in the ſame capacity with *Enoch* and *Elias*; for ſpeaking of the twofold coming of *Chriſt*, he tells * us, that his firſt coming in the fleſh had *John* the *Baptiſt* for its forerunner, and his ſecond to Judgment ſhall have *Enoch*, *Elias* and || *S. John*. *Ephrem* Patriarch of *Antioch* is more expreſs, he tells us, there are three Perſons, answerable to the three diſpenſations of the World, yet in the body, *Enoch*, *Elias* and *S. John*, *Enoch* before the Law, *Elias* under the Law, and *S. John* under the Goſpel; concerning which laſt, that he never died, he confirms both from Scripture and Tradition, and quotes *S. Cyril* (I ſuppoſe he means him of *Alexandria*) as of the ſame opinion. The whole foundation upon which this Error is built, was that diſcourſe that paſſed between our Lord and *Peter* concerning this Apoſtle: for *Chriſt* having told *Peter* what was to be his own fate, *Peter* enquires what ſhould become of *S. John*, knowing him to be the Diſciple whom *Jeſus* loved. Our Lord rebukes his curioſity, by asking him, what that concerned him, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* This the Apoſtles miſunderſtood, and a report preſently went out amongſt them, *That that Diſciple ſhould not die*: Though *S. John*, who himſelf records the paſſage, inſerts a caution, *That Jeſus did not ſay, he ſhould not die, but onely, what if I will that he tarry till I come?* Which doubtleſs our Lord meant of his coming (ſo often mentioned in the New Teſtament) in Judgment upon the *Jews*, at the final overthrow of *Jeruſalem*, which *S. John* out-lived many years; and which our Lord particularly intended when elſewhere he told them, *Verily I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here, which ſhall not taſt of death, till they ſee the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom*.

9. FROM the ſame Original ſprang the report, that he onely lay ſleeping in his Grave. The ſtory was current in *S. Auguſtine*'s days, from whom we receive this account, though poſſibly the Reader will ſmile at the conceit. He tells * us, 'twas commonly reported and believed that *S. John* was not dead, but that he reſted like a Man aſleep in his Grave at *Ephesus*, as plainly appeared from the Duſt ſenſibly boiling and bubbling up, which they accounted to be nothing elſe but the continual motion of his breath. This report *S. Auguſtine* ſeems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he tells us, from very credible hands. He farther adds out of ſome *Apocryphal* Writings, what was generally known and reported, that when *S. John*, then in health, had cauſed his Grave to be dug and prepared, he laid himſelf down in it as in a Bed, and as they thought, onely fell aſleep. * *Nicephorus* relates the ſtory more at large, from whom (if it may be any pleaſure to entertain the Reader with theſe things) we ſhall give this account. *S. John* foreſeeing his Tranſlation into Heaven, took the *Presbyters* and Miniſters of the Church of *Ephesus*, and ſeveral of the Faithful, along with him out of the City, carried them unto a Cemetery near at hand, whither he himſelf was wont to retire to Prayer, and very earneſtly recommended the ſtate of the Churches to God in Prayer. Which being done, he commanded a Grave to be immediately dug, and having inſtructed them in the more recondite myſteries of *Theologie*, the moſt excellent Precepts of a good Life, concerning Faith, Hope, and eſpecially Charity, confirmed them in the practice of Religion, commended them to the care and bleſſing of our Saviour, and ſolemnly taking his leave of them, he ſigned himſelf with the ſign of the Croſs, and before them all went down into the Grave; ſtrictly charging them, to put on the Graveſtone, and to make it faſt, and the next day to come and open it, and take a view of it. They did ſo, and having opened the Sepulchre, found nothing there but the Grave-clothes which he had left behind him. To all which let

|| *Hom. 66. in*
Matth. c. 20.
p. 575.
* *Comm. in.*
Matth. 20.
p. 59. Tom. 9.

* *De Conſumm.*
Mund. & Anti-
chr. in Auguſt.
Bibl. Pp. Gr.
Lat. T. 2. p. 351.
|| *Apud Phot.*
Cod. CCXXIX.
Col. 797.

John 21. 21,
22, 23.

Matth. 16. 28.

* *Tract. 124. in*
Joan. Col. 569.
Tom. 9.

* *H. Eccl. 1. 2.*
c. 42. p. 208.

* Apud Phot.
ubi supr. p. 800.

|| De Glor.
Martyr. lib. 1.
cap. 30 pag. 36.

* Annot. in
Joan. c. 21.

|| In vit. Martin.
c. 25. p. 213.

* Apud Kirsten.
de Vit. Quat.
Evang. p. 52.

* Epiph. Hæres.
78. p. 440.

Hieron. adv.
Jovin. lib. 1.

p. 35. T. 2.
|| Ambr. Comm.

in 2 Cor. 11.
T. 5.

* Bed. Praef. in
Joan. Rupert.

Tuit. Comm. in
Joan. lib. 2. in

fin. Cyr. in Joan.
cap. 2. & alii.

* Demonstr.
Evangel. lib. 3.
p. 120

† Hieron.
Comm. in c. 6. ad
Galat. Tom. 9. p.
200.

* Euseb. H.
Eccl. lib. 3 c. 23.
p. 92.

me add, while my hand is in these things, what * *Ephrem* relates, that from this Grave, wherein he rested so short a time, a kind of Sacred Oil or Unguent was wont to be gathered. *Gregory of Tours* says 'twas *Manna*, which even in his time like flour was cast up from the Sepulchre, and was carried up and down the World for the curing of diseases. This report of our Apostle's being yet alive, some Men made use of to wild and phantastick purposes. * *Beza* tells us of an *Impostor* in his time (whom *Postellus*, who vainly boasted that he had the Soul of *Adam*, was wont to call his Brother) who publicly professed himself to be our S. *John*, and was afterwards burnt at *Tholose* in *France*. Nor was this any more than what was done in the more early Ages of Christianity. For || *Sulpitius Severus* giving us an account of a young *Spaniard* that first professed himself to be *Elias*, and then *Christ* himself; adds, That there was one at the same time in the *East*, who gave out himself to be S. *John*. So fast will Errour, like circles in the water, multiply it self, and one mistaken place of Scripture gives countenance to an hundred stories, that shall be built upon it. I have no more to add, but what we meet with in the * *Arabick* writer of his life, (though it little agrees with the preceding passages) who reports, that there were none present at his burial but his disciple *Phogfar* (probably *Proghor*, or *Prochorus*, one of the seven *Deacons*, and generally said to have been S. *John's* companion and assistant) whom he strictly charged never to discover his Sepulchre to any; it may be for the same reason for which it is thought God concealed the Body of *Moses*, to prevent the Idolatrous worshipping of his Reliques: And accordingly the *Turks*, who conceit him to be buried in the confines of *Lydia*, pay great honour and veneration to his Tomb.

10. S. *JOHN* seems always to have led a single life, and so the * *Ancients* tell us; nay, S. *Ambrose* positively || affirms, that all the Apostles were married, except S. *John* and S. *Paul*. There want not indeed some, and especially the middle Writers of the * *Church*, who will have our Apostle to have been married, and that it was his marriage which our Lord was at in *Cana* of *Galilee*, invited thither upon the account of his consanguinity and alliance: But that being convinced by the Miracle of the Water turned into Wine, he immediately quitted his conjugal relation, and became one of our Lord's Disciples. But this, as *Baronius* himself confesses, is trifling, and the issue of fabulous invention, a thing wholly unknown to the Fathers and best Writers of the Church, and which not onely has no just authority to support it, but arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural temper, he seems (as we have observed in his Brother's Life) to have been of a more eager and resolute disposition, easily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced Age brought to a more staid and a calmer temper. He was polished by no Study or arts of Learning, but what was wanting in that, was abundantly made up in the excellent temper and constitution of his mind, and that furniture of Divine graces, which he was adorned withal. His humility was admirable, studiously concealing his own worth and honour, in all his Epistles (as * *Eusebius* long since observed) he never puts down the honourable Titles of *Apostle* or *Evangelist*, but onely styles himself, and that too but sometimes, *Presbyter*, or *Elder*, alluding probably to his Age, as much as Office; in his Gospel, when he speaks of the Disciple whom *Jesus* loved, he constantly conceals his own name, leaving the Reader to conjecture who was meant. Love and Charity he practised himself, and affectionately pressed upon others, our Lord's great love to him seems to have inspired his Soul with a bigger and more generous Charity than the rest: 'Tis the great vein that runs through his Writings, and especially his Epistles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar Law of Christianity, and without which all other pretences to Christian Religion are vain and frivolous, useless and insignificant. And this was his constant practice to his dying day. When Age and Weakness grew upon him at † *Ephesus*, that he was no longer able to preach to them, he used at every publick Meeting to be led to the Church, and say no more to them, than, *Little children, love one another*. And when his Auditors wearied with the constant repetition of the same thing, asked him why he always spoke the same, he answered, Because it was the command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing else, this alone was enough.

11. BUT the largest measures of his Charity he expressed in the mighty care that he shewed to the Souls of Men, unweariedly spending himself in the service of the Gospel, travelling from *East* to *West* to leaven the World with the Principles of that holy Religion which he was sent to propagate, patiently enduring all torments, breaking through all difficulties and discouragements, shunning no dangers, that he might doe good to Souls, redeem Mens minds from error and idolatry, and reduce them from the Snares of a debauched and a vitious Life. Witness one famous * instance. In his

his visitation of the Churches, near to *Ephesus*, he made choice of a young Man, whom with a special charge for his instruction and education; he committed to the Bishop of that place. The spiritual Man undertook the charge, instructed his Pupil, and baptized him: And then thinking he might a little remit the reins of discipline, the youth made an ill use of his liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad companions, making himself Captain to a company of High-way men, the most loose, cruel, and profligate wretches of the Country. S. John at his return understanding this, and sharply re-proving the negligence and unfaithfulness of his Tutor, resolved to find him out: And without any consideration of what danger he entred upon, in venturing himself upon Persons of desperate fortunes and forfeited consciences, he went to the Mountains, where their usual haunt was; and being here taken by the Sentinel, he desired to be brought before their Commander, who no sooner espied him coming towards him, but immediately fled. The aged Apostle followed after, but not able to overtake him, passionately entreated him to stay, promising him to undertake with God for his peace and pardon. He did so, and both melted into tears, and the Apostle having prayed with, and for him, returned him a true Penitent and Convert to the Church. This story we have elsewhere related more at large out of *Eusebius*, as he does from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, since which that Tract it self of **Clemens* is made publick to the World. *Prim. Christ. Part 3. ch. 2. p. 248.*

* *Orat. ἀὐτὸς τὸς ὁ σωζόμενος πλεονεκτήσας.* in *Auctuar. Biblioth. Pp. Gr. L. à Fr. Combef. edit. An. 1672. Part 1. p. 185. n. 42.*

12. NOR was it the least instance of his care of the Church, and Charity to the Souls of Men, that he was so infinitely vigilant against Hereticks and Seducers, countermining their Artifices, antidoting against the poison of their errors, and shunning all communion and conversation with their persons. * Going along with some of his friends at *Ephesus* to the Bath (whither he used frequently to resort, and the ruins whereof, of *Porphyry*, not far from the place where stood the famous Temple of *Diana*, as a late eye-witness informs us, are still shewed at this day) he enquired of the servant that waited there, who was within; the servant told him, *Cerintus* (*Epiphanius* says it was *Ebion*, and 'tis not improbable that they might be both there;) which the Apostle no sooner understood, but in great abhorrency he turned back, *Let's be gone, my brethren*, (said he) *and make hast from this place, lest the Bath wherein there is such an Heretick as Cerintus, the great enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads.* This account *Irenæus* delivers from *Polycarp*, S. John's own Scholar and Disciple. This *Cerintus* was a Man of loose and pernicious principles, endeavouring to corrupt Christianity with many damnable * Errors. To make himself more considerable, he struck in with the Jewish Converts, and made a bustle in that great controversy at *Jerusalem*, about Circumcision and the observance of the Law of *Moses*. But his usual haunt was *Asia*, where amongst other things he openly denied *Christ's* Resurrection, affirmed the World to have been made by Angels, broaching unheard-of *Dogmata*, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by Angels, venting Revelations composed by himself, as a great Apostle, affirming that after the Resurrection the Reign of *Christ* would commence here upon Earth, and that Men living again at *Jerusalem*, should for the space of a Thousand Years enjoy all manner of sensual pleasures and delights: hoping by this *fools Paradise* that he should tempt Men of loose and brutish minds over to his party. Much of the same stamp was * *Ebion* (though in some principles differing from him, as error agrees with it self as little as with truth) who held that the Holy *Jesus* was a mere, and a mean Man, begotten by *Joseph* of *Mary* his Wife, and that the observance of the *Mosaic* Rites and Laws was necessary to Salvation: And because they saw S. *Paul* stand so full in their way, they reproached him as an *Apostate* from his Religion, and rejected his Epistles, owning none but S. *Matthew's* Gospel in *Hebrew*, having little or no value for the rest; the *Sabbath* and Jewish Rites they observed with the *Jews*, and on the Lord's day celebrated the memory of our Lord's Resurrection, according to the custom and practice of the *Christians*. ** Iren. adv. Heres. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. Euseb. l. 3. c. 28. p. 100. Epiph. Heres. 30. p. 69. Th. Smith. Epist. de VII. Asiae Eccles. p. 159.*

13. BESIDES these, there was another sort of Hereticks that infested the Church in S. John's time, the *Nicolaitans*, mentioned by him in his *Revelation*, and whose doctrine our Lord is with a particular *Emphasis* there said to hate; indeed a most wretched and brutish Sect, generally supposed to derive their original from *Nicolas*, one of the seven Deacons, whom we read of in the *Acts*, whereof *Clemens* of *Alexandria* gives this probable * account. This *Nicolas* having a beautiful Wife, and being reproved by the Apostles for being jealous of her, to shew how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would leave to marry her, affirming this to be suitable to that ** Stromat. lib. 3. p. 436. Euseb. l. 3. c. 29. p. 101.*

that saying, *ὅτι οὐδεὶς τὴν σὰρκα δέει*, That we ought to abuse the flesh. This speech, he tells us, was ascribed to S. Matthias, who taught, That we must fight with the flesh and abuse it, and not allowing it any thing for pleasure, encrease the Soul by faith and knowledge. These words and actions of his, his disciples and followers misunderstanding, and perverting things to the worst sense imaginable, began to let loose the reins, and henceforwards to give themselves over to the greatest filthiness, the most shameless and impudent uncleanness, throwing down all inclosures, making the most promiscuous mixtures lawful, and pleasure the ultimate end and happiness of Man. Such were their principles, such their practices; whereas *Nicolas*, their pretended Patron and Founder, was (says *Clemens*) a sober and a temperate Man, never making use of any but his own Wife, by whom he had one Son, and several Daughters, who all liv'd in perpetual Virginity.

* Apud Euseb.
H. Eccl. lib. 7.
c. 25. p. 272, &c.

14. THE last instance that we shall remark of our Apostle's care for the good of the Church, is the Writings which he left to posterity. Whereof the first in time, though plac'd last, is his *Apocalypse*, or Book of *Revelations*, written while confined in *Patmos*. It was of old not only rejected by Hereticks, but controverted by many of the Fathers themselves. *Dionysius* Bishop of * *Alexandria* has a very large discourse concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly disowned this Book, not onely for the Matter, but the Author of it, as being neither Apostle, no nor any Holy or Ecclesiastical Person; that *Cerintus* prefixed S. John's name to it, to give the more plausible title to his Dream of *Christ's* Reign upon Earth, and that sensual and carnal state that should attend it; that for his part he durst not reject it, looking upon it as containing wise and admirable mysteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them; that he did not measure them by his own line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not understand; that he owned the Authour to have been an holy, and divinely inspired Person, but could not believe it to be S. John the Apostle and Evangelist, neither style, matter, nor method agreeing with his other Writings; that in this he frequently names himself, which he never does in any other; that there were several *Johns* at that time, and two buried at *Ephesus*, the Apostle, and another, one of the Disciples that dwelt in *Asia*, but which was the Authour of this Book, he leaves uncertain. But though doubted of by some, it was entertained by the far greater part of the Ancients as the genuine work of our S. John. Nor could the setting down his Name be any reasonable exception, for whatever he might do in his other Writings, especially his Gospel, where it was less necessary, Historical matters depending not so much upon his authority, yet it was otherwise in Prophetick Revelations, where the Person of the Revealer adds great weight and moment, the reason why some of the Prophets under the Old Testament did so frequently set down their own Names. The diversity of the style is of no considerable value in this case, it being no wonder, if in arguments so vastly different the same Person did not always observe the same tenour and way of writing; whereof there want not instances in some others of the Apostolick Order. The truth is, all circumstances concur to intitle our Apostle to be the Authour of it, his name frequently expressed, its being written in the Island of *Patmos* (a circumstance not competent to any but S. John) his styling himself *their Brother and Companion in Tribulation*, and in the Kingdom and Patience of *Jesus Christ*, his writing particular Epistles to the *seven Churches of Asia*, all planted, or at least cultivated by him, the doctrine in it suitable to the Apostolick spirit and temper, evidently bearing witness in this case. That which seems to have given ground to doubt concerning both its Authour and Authority, was its being long before it was usually joined with other Books of the holy Canon: for containing in it some passages directly level'd at *Rome*, the Seat of the *Roman Empire*, others which might be thought to symbolize with some Jewish dreams and figments, it might possibly seem fit to the prudence of those Times for a while to suppress it. Nor is the conjecture of a learn-

* Grot. Ann.
in Cap. 1. Joan.

ed * Man to be despised, who thinks that it might be entrusted in the keeping of John the Presbyter, Scholar to our Apostle, whence probably the report might arise, that he, who was onely the Keeper, was the Authour of it. I add no more, than that upon the account of this *Apocalypse*, containing a prophetick Scheme of the future state of the Christian Church, he is in a strict sense a Prophet, and has thereby one considerable addition to his Titles, being not onely an Apostle, and Evangelist, but a Prophet, an honour peculiar to himself. *Peter* was an Apostle, but properly no Evangelist: *Mark* an Evangelist, but no Apostle: *S. Matthew* an Apostle and Evangelist, but no Prophet; but S. John was both an Apostle, an Evangelist, and a Prophet.

15. HIS Gospel succeeds, written (say || some) in *Patmos*, and published at *Ephesus*, but as * *Irenæus*, and others more truly, written by him after his return to *Ephesus*; composed at the earnest intreaty and solicitation of the *Asian* Bishops, and Ambassadors from several Churches; in order whereunto he first caused them to proclaim a general *Fast*, to seek the blessing of Heaven on so great and solemn an undertaking, which being done, he set about it. And if we may believe the report of *Gregory* Bishop of || *Tours*, he tells us that upon a Hill near *Ephesus* there was a *Proseucha*, or uncovered Oratory, whither our Apostle used often to retire for Prayer and Contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not rain in that Place till he had finished his Gospel. Nay, he adds, that even in his time, no showre or storm ever came upon it. Two causes especially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early Heresies of those times, especially of *Ebion*, *Cerintus*, and the rest of that crew, who began openly to deny *Christ's* Divinity, and that he had any existence before his Incarnation; the reason why our Evangelist is so express and copious in that subject. * The other was, that he might supply those passages of the Evangelical History, which the rest of the Sacred Writers had omitted. Collecting therefore the other three Evangelists, he first set to his Seal, ratifying the truth of them with his approbation and consent, and then added his own Gospel to the rest, principally insinuating upon the *Acts* of *Christ* from the first commencing of his Ministry to the Death of *John the Baptist*, wherein the others are most defective, giving scarce any account of the first Year of our Saviour's Ministry, which therefore he made up in very large and particular Narrations. He largely records (as *Nazianzen* * observes) our Saviour's Discourses, but takes little notice of his Miracles, probably because so fully and particularly related by the rest. The subject of his writing is very sublime and mysterious, mainly designing to prove *Christ's* Divinity, eternal pre-existence, creating of the World, &c. Upon which account || *Theodoret* styles his Gospel *θεολογίαν ἀβυσσόν διδασκάλους* & *ἀνυπόβυστον*, a *Theology* which humane understandings can never fully penetrate and find out. Thence generally by the Ancients, he is resembled to an *Eagle*, * soaring aloft within the Clouds, whither the weak eye of Man was unable to follow him; hence peculiarly honoured with the Title of *The Divine*, as if due to none but him, at least to him in a more eminent and extraordinary manner. Nay the very *Gentile Philosophers* themselves could not but admire his Writings: Witness || *Amelius* the famous *Platonist*, and Regent of *Porphyry's* School at *Alexandria*; who quoting a passage out of the beginning of *S. John's* Gospel, sware by *Jupiter*, that this *Barbarian* (so the proud *Greeks* counted and called all that differed from them) "had hit upon the right notion, when he affirmed, that "the *Word* that made all things *was in the beginning*, and in "place of prime dignity and authority with God, and was "that God that created all things, in whom every thing that "was made had according to its nature its life and being; "that he was incarnate, and clothed with a body, where- "in he manifested the glory and magnificence of his nature; that after his death, he "returned to the repossession of Divinity, and became the same God, which he was "before his assuming a body, and taking the humane nature and flesh upon him. I have no more to observe, but that his Gospel was afterwards translated into * *Hebrew*, and kept by the *Jews*, *ἐν ἀποκρύφους*, among their secret *Archives* and Records in their Treasury at *Tiberias*; where a Copy of it was found by one *Joseph* a *Jew*, afterwards converted, and whom *Constantine* the Great advanced to the honour of a Count of the Empire, who breaking open the Treasury, though he missed of money, found *βιβλος βίς ὑπὲρ χρημάτων*, Books beyond all Treasure, *S. Matthew*, and *S. John's* Gospels, and the *Acts* of the Apostles in *Hebrew*, the reading whereof greatly contributed towards his Conversion.

16. BESIDES these, our Apostle wrote three Epistles; the first whereof is *Catholic*, calculated for all times and places, containing most excellent rules for the conduct of the Christian Life, pressing to holiness and purity of manners, and not to rest in a naked and empty profession of Religion, not to be led away with the crafty insinuations of Seducers, antidoting Men against the poison of the *Gnostick*-principles and practices, to whom it is not to be doubted, but that the Apostle had a more particular

|| *Doroth. de vit. App. in B. Pp. T. 3. p. 147.*
* *Iren. adv. hæres. lib. 3. c. 1.*
Hieron. præf. in Matth. Tom. 9. de Script. Eccl. in Joan. De glor. Mart. lib. 1. cap. 30. pag. 37.

* *Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 24. p. 95.*

* Παῦρος δ' ἰωάννης δ' ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ
ὁμιλοῦμεν, ὅτι πολλὰς ἡμεῖς λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀνακρίσας
Naz. Carm. 41. p. 102.

|| *Comm. in Ezck. c. 47.*

* *Nemo, audeo dicere, tanta sublimitate sapientia maiestatem dei vidit, & nobis proprio sermone referavit. Transcendit nubes, transcendit virtutes calorum, transcendit angelos, & verbum in principio reperiit, & apud deum vidit. Ambr. præf. Comm. in Luc. Tom. 5. p. 5.*

|| Καὶ ἔτι αὖτε ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁν ἀεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀνὰ τὸν Ἡρόκλητον ἀξίωσε, καὶ τὸν Διὶ ὁ Βαλσαβος ἀξίωσεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰς τε καὶ ἀξίως καθέκαστα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι. Διὶ ἔτι πάντα ἀπλῶς γενομένης ἐν τῷ γινόμενῳ ζῶν, καὶ ζῶν, καὶ ὁν περιμέναι. καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον, φανταζόμενος ἀνθρώπον, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα πάντα δεικνύειν τὸ φύσει τὸ μετὰ τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθεῖσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷον ἦν πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἀναχθῆναι. *Amel. apud Euseb. præparat. Evang. lib. 11. p. 540. vid. Theod. de Cur. Grec. Affect. Serm. 2. p. 33.*

* *Epiph. adv. Ebion. Hæres. XXX. p. 60.*

ibid. p. 61.

respect

|| Lib. 7. c. 25.
p. 276.

* Quest. Evang.
lib. 2. c. 39.

Col. 353. vid.
Possid. Indic.

Oper. August.

* Euseb. ut supr.

& c. 26. Hieron.

de script. Eccl. in

Joan.

* Comm. in

cap. 12. Zachar.

p. 178. Tom. 6.

|| Homil. 16. p.

502. Tom. 1.

* Hæres. 73.

adv. Semiar. p.

363.

|| Comm. in

Joan. p. 8.

respect in this Epistle. According to his wonted modesty he conceals his name, it being of more concernment with wise Men, what it is that is said, than who it is that says it. And this Epistle *Eusebius* tells || us, was universally received, and never questioned by any; anciently, as appears by * *S. Augustine*, inscribed to the *Parthians*, though for what reason I am yet to learn, unless (as we hinted before) it was, because he himself had heretofore preached in those parts of the World. The other two Epistles are but short, and directed to particular Persons, the one a Lady of honourable Quality, the other the charitable and hospitable *Gains*, so kind a friend, so courteous an entertainer of all indigent Christians. * These Epistles indeed were not of old admitted into the *Canon*, nor are owned by the Church in *Syria* at this day, ascribed by many to the younger *John*, Disciple to our Apostle. But there is no just cause to question who was their Father, seeing both the Doctrine, Phrase, and Design of them do sufficiently challenge our Apostle for their Authour. These are all the Books, wherein it pleased the Holy Spirit to make use of *S. John* for its Pen-man and Secretary, in the composure whereof though his style and character be not florid and elegant, yet is it grave and simple, short and perspicuous. * *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* tells us, that in his Gospel and first Epistle his phrase is more neat and elegant, there being an accuracy in the contexture both of words and matter, that runs through all the reasonings of his discourses; but that in the *Apocalypse* the style is nothing so pure and clear, being frequently mixed with more barbarous and improper phrases. Indeed his *Greek* generally abounds with *Syriacisms*, his discourses many times abrupt, set off with frequent *Antitheses*, connected with copulatives, passages often repeated, things at first more obscurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with subsequent explications, words peculiar to himself, and phrases used in an uncommon sense. All which concur to render his way of Writing less grateful, possibly, to the Masters of eloquence, and an elaborate curiosity. * *S. Hieron* observes, that in citing places out of the Old Testament, he more immediately translates from the *Hebrew* Original, studying to render things word for word; for being an *Hebrew* of the *Hebrews*, admirably skill'd in the Language of his Country, it probably made him less exact in his *Greek* composures, wherein he had very little advantage, besides what was immediately communicated from above. But whatever was wanting in the politeness of his style, was abundantly made up in the zeal of his temper, and the excellency and sublimity of his matter; he truly answered his Name, *Boanerges*, spake and writ like a *Sun of Thunder*. Whence it is that his Writings, but especially his Gospel, have such great and honourable things spoken of them by the Ancients. The *Evangelical writings* (says || *S. Basil*) transcend the other parts of the *Holy Volumes*; in other parts God speaks to us by Servants, the Prophets, but in the Gospels our Lord himself speaks to us, αὐτὸς γὰρ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν κηρύγματ' ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, ὃ πῶτος μὲν ἀκρὴς μέγιστα, πῶτος δ' ἀγαθότατος ὑπελάμπει φειγξάμενος, Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ υἱὸς τ' βροντῆς, but among all the *Evangelical Preachers*, none like *S. John* the Son of Thunder for the sublimeness of his speech, and the height of his discourses beyond any Man's capacity duly to reach and comprehend. *S. John* as a true Son of Thunder (says * *Epiphanius*) τῇ οἰκείᾳ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν, ὥς ὃς ὁφείας ἀνιγμύτων τ' εὐσεβῆ ἡμῶν ἐννοῶν τὸ υἱὸν ἀνῆκεν, by a certain greatness of Speech peculiar to himself, does as it were out of the Clouds and the dark recesses of wisdom acquaint us with Divine Doctrines concerning the Son of God. To which let me add, what *S. Cyril* of || *Alexandria* among other things says concerning him, that whoever looks εἰς τὸ τῶν θεωρημάτων ὑψόφους, ὃ τ' ἀγαθότατος αὐτὸς ὁξύπνους, καὶ τ' συνεχῆς ὃ ἀλλεπάλληλον τῶν νοημάτων ἐπισπορεῖν, to the sublimity of his incomprehensible notions, the acumen and sharpness of his reason, and the quick inferences of his discourses constantly succeeding and following upon one another, must needs confess, that his Gospel perfectly exceeds all admiration.

The End of S. John's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. P H I L I P.

S^t Philip

After he had converted all Scythia he was at Hierapolis a City of Asia first crucified and then stoned to death. Baron. May. 1^o.

S^t Philip's Martyrdom.

Act. 5. 30. Whom ye slew, & hanged on a tree. Matth. 10. 24, 25. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple, that he be as his master, and the servant as his Lord.

Galilee generally despised by the Jews, and why. The honour which our Lord put upon it. S. Philip's birth-place. His being first called to be a Disciple, and the manner of it. An account of his ready obedience to Christ's call. What the Evangelists relate concerning him considered. The discourse between our Lord and him concerning the knowledge of the Father. His preaching the Gospel in the Upper Asia, and the happy effects of his Ministry. His coming to Hierapolis in Phrygia, and successful confutation of their Idolatries. The rage and fury of the Magistrates against him. His Martyrdom, Crucifixion, and Burial. His married condition. The confounding him with Philip the Deacon. The Gospel forged by the Gnosticks under his Name.

1. **O**F all parts of Palestine Galilee seems to have passed under the greatest character of ignominy and reproach. The Country it self, because bordering upon the idolatrous uncircumcised Nations, called *Galilee of the Gentiles*; the People generally beheld as more rude and boisterous, more unpolished and barbarous than the rest, not remarkable either for Civility or Religion. *The Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the Feast, for they also went up unto the Feast; as if it had been a wonder and a matter of very strange remark, to see so much devotion in them as to attend the solemnity of the Passover.* John 4. 45. Indeed

John 1. 46.
John 7. 52.

Indeed both Jew and Gentile conspired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Saviour and his Followers, than that of *Galilean*. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? a City in this Province, said Nathanael concerning Christ. Search and look (say the Pharisees) for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet; as if nothing but briars and thorns could grow in that soil. But there needs no more to confute this ill-natured opinion, than that our Lord not onely made choice of it as the seat of his ordinary residence and retreat, but that hence he chose those excellent Persons, whom he made his Apostles, the great instruments to convert the World. Some of these we have already given an account of, and more are yet behind.

John 1. 44.

2. OF this number was S. Philip, born at *Bethsaida*, a Town near the Sea of *Tiberias*, the City of Andrew and Peter. Of his Parents and way of life the History of the Gospel takes no notice, though probably he was a Fisherman, the Trade general of that place. He had the *πρῶτος*, the honour of being first called to the Discipleship, which thus came to pass. Our Lord soon after his return from the Wilderness having met with Andrew and his brother Peter, after some short discourse parted from them: And the very next day, as he was passing through Galilee, he found Philip, whom he presently commanded to follow him, the constant form which he used in making choice of his Disciples, and those that did inseparably attend upon him. So that the *πρῶτος* or prerogative of being first called, evidently belongs to Philip, he being the first-fruits of our Lord's Disciples. For though Andrew and Peter were the first that came to, and conversed with Christ, yet did they immediately return to their Trade again, and were not called to the Discipleship till above a whole year after, when John

* Stromat. lib. 3.
p. 436.

was cast into prison. *Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that it was Philip, to whom our Lord said (when he would have excused himself at present, that he must go bury his Father) *Let the dead bury their dead, but follow thou me*. But besides that he gives no account, whence he derived this intelligence, it is plainly inconsistent with the time of our Apostle's call, who was called to be a Disciple a long time before that speech and passage of our Saviour. It may seem justly strange that Philip should at first fight so readily comply with our Lord's Command, and turn himself over into his service, having not yet seen any miracle, that might evince his *Messiahship*, and Divine Commis- sion, nor probably so much as heard any tidings of his appearance; and especially being a *Galilean*, and so of a more rustick and unyielding temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably versed in the writings of Moses and the Prophets.

* Apud Sur. ad
diem 1. Maii,
Tom. 4.

*Metaphrastes assures us (though how he came to know it otherwise than by conjecture I cannot imagine) that from his childhood he had excellent education, that he frequently read over Moses his Books, and considered the Prophecies that related to our Saviour: And was no question awakened with the general expectations that were then on foot among the Jews (the date of the Prophetick Scriptures concerning the time of Christ's coming being now run out) that the *Messiah* would immediately appear. Add to this, that the Divine Grace did more immediately accompany the command of Christ, to incline and dispose him to believe, that this person was that very *Messiah* that was to come.

John 6. 5.

3. NO sooner had Religion taken possession of his mind, but like an active principle it began to ferment, and diffuse it self. Away he goes, and finds Nathanael, a person of note and eminency, acquaints him with the tidings of the new-found *Messiah*, and conducts him to him. So forward is a good Man to draw and direct others in the same way to happiness with himself. After his call to the Apostleship much is not recorded of him in the Holy Story: 'Twas to him that our Saviour propounded the question, What they should do for so much bread in the Wilderness, as would feed so vast a multitude, to which he answered, That so much was not easily to be had; not considering, that to feed two or twenty thousand are equally easie to Almighty Power,

John 12. 22.

when pleased to exert it self. 'Twas to him that the *Gentile Profelytes* that came up to the *Passover* addressed themselves, when desirous to see our Saviour, a Person of whom they had heard so loud a fame. 'Twas with him that our Lord had that discourse concerning himself a little before the last *Paschal* Supper. The holy and compassionate Jesus had been fortifying their minds with fit considerations against his departure from them, had told them, that he was going to prepare room for them in the Mansions of the Blessed, that he himself was *the way, the truth, and the life*, and that no Man could come to the Father but by him, and that knowing him, they both knew and had seen the Father. Philip not duly understanding the force of our Saviour's reasonings, begged of him, that he would shew them the Father, and then this would abundantly convince and satisfy them. We can hardly suppose he should have such

John 14. 8.

gross

gross conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the Father vested with a corporeal and visible nature; but *Christ* having told them that they had seen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a visible shape, he only desired that he would manifest himself to them by some such appearance. Our Lord gently reproved his ignorance, that after so long attendance upon his instructions, he should not know, that he was the Image of his Father, the express characters of his infinite wisdom, power and goodness appearing in him, that he said and did nothing but by his Father's appointment, which if they did not believe, his Miracles were a sufficient evidence: That therefore such demands were unnecessary and impertinent, and that it argued great weakness after more than three years education under his discipline and institution to be so unskilful in those matters. God expects improvement according to mens opportunities; to be old and ignorant in the School of *Christ*, deserves both reproach and punishment; 'tis the character of very bad persons, that *they are*, ^{2 Tim. 3. 7.} *ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the truth.*

4. IN the distribution of the several Regions of the World made by the Apostles, though no mention be made by *Origin* or *Eusebius*, what part fell to our Apostle, yet we are told by * others, that the *Upper Asia* was his Province (the reason doubtless why he is said by many to have preached and planted Christianity in *Scythia*) where he applied himself with an indefatigable diligence and industry to recover men out of the snare of the Devil, to the embracing and acknowledgment of the truth. By the constancy of his preaching, and the efficacy of his Miracles he gained numerous Converts, whom he baptized into the Christian Faith, at once curing both Souls and Bodies, their Souls of error and idolatry, their Bodies of infirmities and distempers, healing Diseases, dispossessing *Demons*, settling Churches, and appointing them Guides and Ministers of Religion.

* S. Metaphr. Comm. de S. Philip. apud. Sur. ad 1. Mail. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. p. 200.

Metaphr. & Niceph. ibid.

* Admonit. ad Gent. p. 11. || Ad Ann. 54. n. 3.

* Strom. lib. 3. p. 448. || Ap. Euseb. H. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 31. p. 102. Vid. Dorothe. Synops. de vit. & mort. App. B. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.

HAVING for many years successfully managed his Apostolical Office in all those parts, he came in the last periods of his life to *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, a City rich and populous, but answering its name in its idolatrous Devotions. Amongst the many vain and trifling Deities, to whom they payed religious adoration, was a *Serpent* or *Dragon* (in memory no doubt of that infamous Act of *Jupiter*, who in the shape of a *Dragon* insinuated himself into the embraces of *Proserpina*, his own Daughter begot of *Ceres*, and whom these *Phrygians* chiefly worshipped, as * *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, so little reason had || *Baronius* to say that they worshipped no such God) of a more prodigious bigness than the rest, which they worshipped with great and solemn veneration. S. *Philip* was troubled to see the people so wretchedly enslaved to error, and therefore continually solicited Heaven, till by prayer and calling upon the name of *Christ*, he had procured the death, or at least vanishing of this famed and beloved Serpent: Which done, he told them, how unbecoming it was to give Divine honours to such odious creatures; that God alone was to be worshipped as the great Parent of the World, who had made man at first after his own glorious Image, and when fallen from that innocent and happy state, had sent his own Son into the World to redeem him, who died and rose from the dead, and shall come again at the last day, to raise men out of their Graves, and to sentence and reward them according to their works. The success was, that the people were ashamed of their fond Idolatry, and many broke loose from their chains of darkness, and ran over to Christianity. Whereupon the great Enemy of mankind betook himself to his old methods, cruelty and persecution. The Magistrates of the City seize the Apostle, and having put him into Prison, caused him to be severely whipp'd and scourg'd. This preparatory cruelty passed, he was led to execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the neck against a Pillar, though others tell us, that he was crucified. We are farther told, that at his execution the Earth began suddenly to quake, and the ground whereon the People stood, to sink under them, which when they apprehended and bewailed as an evident act of Divine vengeance pursuing them for their sins, it as suddenly stopt, and went no farther. The Apostle being dead, his body was taken down by S. *Bartholomew*, his Fellow-sufferer, though not finally executed, and *Marianne*, S. *Philip's* Sister, who is said to have been the constant companion of his travels, and decently buried, after which having confirmed the People in the Faith of *Christ*, they departed from them.

6. THAT S. *Philip* was married, is generally affirmed by the Ancients; * *Clemens* of *Alexandria* reckons him one of the married Apostles, and that he had Daughters, whom he disposed in marriage: || *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* tells us, that *Philip* one of the twelve Apostles, died at *Hierapolis*, with two of his Daughters, who persevered in their Virginity, and that he had a third which died at *Ephesus*.

The truth is, the not careful distinguishing between Philip the Deacon (who lived at *Cæsarea*, and of whose four Virgin-daughters we read in the History of the Apostles Acts) and our Apostle, has bred some confusion among the Ancients in this matter. Nay has made some conclude them to have been but one and the same person. But with how little reason, will appear to any one that shall consider, that Philip who was chosen to be one of the seven Deacons, could not be one of the Apostolical College, the Apostles declaring upon that occasion that they had affairs of a higher nature to attend upon: then the twelve called the Multitude of the Disciples unto them; and said it is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables; wherefore look ye out among you seven men of honest report, &c. and they chose Stephen, and Philip, &c. [among you] the body of the people, not from among the Apostles. So when upon the persecution that arose upon Stephen's death, the Church was dispers'd, they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria (and Philip the Deacon among the rest, who went down to the City of Samaria) except the Apostles, who tarried behind at Jerusalem. And when Philip had converted and baptized considerable numbers in that place, he was forc'd to send for two of the Apostles from Jerusalem, that so by Apostolick hands they might be confirm'd, and might receive the holy Ghost. Which had been wholly needless had Philip himself been of the twelve Apostles. But it's needless to argue in this matter, the account concerning them being so widely different; for as they differed in their Persons and Offices, the one a Deacon, the other an Apostle, so also in the number of their Children, four Daughters being ascribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the Apostles who left no Sacred Writings behind him, the greater part of of the Apostles (as * *Ensebins* observes) having little leisure to write Books, being employed in ministries more immediately useful and subservient to the happiness of mankind: Though || *Epiphanius* tells us, that the Gnosticks were wont to produce a Gospel forged under S. Philip's name, which they abused to the patronage of their horrible principles, and more brutish practices.

* *Lih. 3. cap. 24.*
p. 94.

|| *Adv. Gnost.*
Hæres. 26. p. 46.

The End of S. Philip's Life.

THE

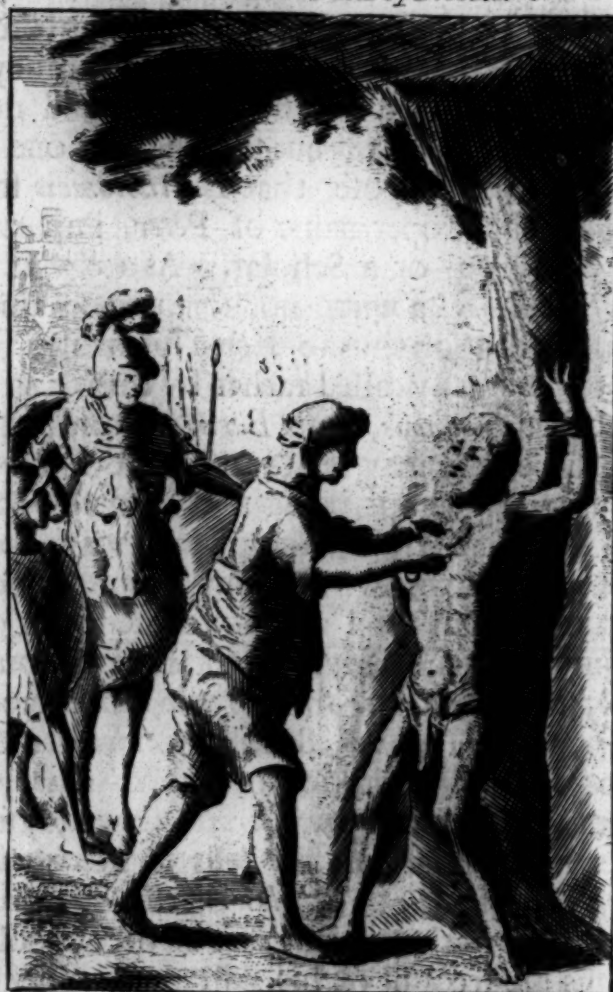
THE LIFE OF S. BARTHOLOMEW.

S. BARTHOLOMEW



He was flea'd alive by the command of a Barbarous King. Place this to the Collect for S. Bartholomew's day.

S. Bartholomew's Martyrdom.



Rom. 8. 36, 37. For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. But in all these things we are more than Conquerours.

The silence concerning this Apostle in the History of the Gospel. That he is the same with Nathanael, proved by many probable arguments. His title of Bar-tholmai, whence. The School of the Tholmæans. An objection against his being Nathanael, answered. His descent and way of life. His first coming to Christ, and converse with him. In what parts of the World he planted the Christian Faith. His preaching in India, and leaving S. Matthew's Gospel there. His return to Hierapolis, and deliverance there from Crucifixion. His removal to Albanopolis in Armenia, and suffering Martyrdom there for the Faith of Christ. His being first flea'd alive, and then crucified. The fabulous Gospel attributed to him. A saying of his recorded by Dionysius Areopagita.

I. **T**HAT S. Bartholomew was one of the twelve Apostles, the Evangelical History is most express and clear, though it seems to take no farther notice of him than the bare mention of his name. Which doubtless gave the first occasion to many, both anciently and of later time, not without reason to suppose, that he lies concealed under some other name, and that this can be no other than Nathanael, one of the first Disciples that came to Christ. Accordingly we may observe, that as S. John never mentions Bartholomew in the number of the Apostles, so the other Evangelists never take notice of Nathanael, probably because the same person

person under two several names, and as in *John Philip* and *Nathanael* are joined together in their coming to *Christ*, so in the rest of the Evangelists *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are constantly put together without the least variation; for no other reason, I conceive, than because they were jointly called to the Discipleship, so they are jointly referred in the *Apostolick Catalogue*; as afterwards we find them joint-companions in the writings of the Church. But that which renders the thing most specious and probable is, that we find *Nathanael* particularly reckoned up with the other Apostles, to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Resurrection, where there were together *Simon Peter*, and *Thomas*, and *Nathanael of Cana in Galilee*, and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, and two other of his Disciples, who probably were *Andrew* and *Philip*. That by *Disciples* is here meant *Apostles*, is evident, partly from the names of those that are reckoned up, partly because it is said, that *this was the third time that Jesus appeared to his Disciples*, it being plain, that the two foregoing appearances were made to none but the Apostles.

John 21. 1, 2.

Ib. v. 14.

2. HAD he been no more than an ordinary Disciple, I think no tolerable reason can be given, why in filling up the vacancy made by the death of *Judas*, he, being so eminently qualified for the place, should not have been propounded as well as either *Barsabas* or *Matthias*, but that he was one of the Twelve already. Nor indeed is it reasonable to suppose, that *Bartholomew* should be his proper name, any more than *Bar-jona* the proper name of *Peter*, importing no more than his relative capacity either as a Son, or a Scholar. As a Son it notes no more than his being בר חולמי the son of *Tholmai*, a name not uncommon amongst the Jews, it being customary among them for the Son thus to derive his name, so *Barjona*, *Bartimeus*, the son of *Timens*, &c. and to be usually called rather by this relative, than his own proper name, thus *Joseph* was called *Barsabas*, thus *Barnabas* constantly so styled, though his right name was *Joseph*. Or else it may relate to him as a Disciple of some particular Sect and Institution among the Jews, it being a custom for Scholars out of a great reverence for their Masters, or first Institutors of that way, to adopt their names, as *Ben-ezra*, *Ben-uziel*, &c. And this will be much more evident, if the observation which *one makes be true (which yet I will not contend for) that as several Sects in the Jewish Church denominated themselves from some famous person of that Nation, the *Essenes* from *Enosh*, the *Sadducees* from *Sadoc*, so there were others that called themselves *Tholmeans*, from *Tholmai*, Scholar to *Heber* the antient Master of the *Hebrews*, who was of the race or institution of the *Enakim*, who flourished in *Debir* and *Hebron*, with whom *Abraham* was confederate, that is, joined himself to their society. And of this Order and Institution, he tells us *Nathanael* seems to have been, hence called *Bartholomew*, the Son or Scholar of the *Tholomeans*; hence said to be an *Israelite* indeed, that is, one of the antient race of the Schools and Societies of *Israel*. This, if so, would give us an account of his skill and ability in the Jewish Law, wherein he is generally supposed to have been a *Doctour* or Teacher. But which so ever of these two accounts of his denomination shall find most favour with the reader, either of them will serve my purpose, and reconcile the difference that seems to be between *S. John* and the other Evangelists about his name, the one styling him by his proper name, the other by his relative and paternal title. To all this, if necessary, I might add the consent

* Bolduc. de Eccl. post Leg. c. 7. p. 45. vid. de Eccl. ante Leg. lib. 2. c. 8.

* Rupert. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. 1. Jansen. Concord. c. 17. Onuphr. in Fast. Salmer. Tract. 18. Tom. 4. Montac. Orig. Sac. Part. 2. p. 18. Dr. H. Annot. in Joh. 1. alique.

* Tract. VII. in Joan. Col. 68. Tom. 9. & in Psalm LXV. Col. 671. Tom. 8.

of learned Men, who have given in their suffrages in this matter, that it is but the same person under several * names. But hints of this may suffice. These arguments, I confess, are not so forcible and convictive as to command assent, but with all their circumstances considered, are sufficient to incline and sway any Man's belief. The great and indeed onely reason brought against it, is what * *S. Augustine* objected of old, that it is not probable that our Lord would chuse *Nathanael*, a Doctour of the Law, to be one of his Apostles, as designing to confound the wisdom of the World by the preaching of the ideot and the unlearned. But this is no reason to him that considers, that this objection equally lyes against *S. Philip*, for whose skill in the Law and Prophets there is as much evidence in the History of the Gospel, as for *Nathanael's*; and much stronglier against *S. Paul*, than whom (besides his abilities in all humane Learning) there were few greater Masters in the Jewish Law.

3. THIS difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular account of our Apostle. By some he is thought to have been a *Syrian*, of a noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and sound of the name. 'Tis plain, that he, as the rest of the Apostles, was a *Galilean*, and of *Nathanael* we know it is particularly said, that

he

he was of *Cana in Galilee*. The Scripture takes no notice of his Trade or way of Life, though some circumstances might seem to intimate that he was a Fisherman, which *Theodoret* affirms of the Apostles in general, and another particularly reports of our Apostle. At his first coming to *Christ* (supposing him still the same with *Nathanael*) he was conducted by *Philip*, who told him that now they had found the long-look'd for *Messiah*, so oft fore-told by *Moses* and the Prophets, *Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph*. And when he objected that the *Messiah*, could not be born at *Nazareth*, *Philip* bids him come and satisfy himself. At his first approach our Lord entertains him with this honourable character, that he was an *Israelite indeed*, a Man of true simplicity and integrity; as indeed his simplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of *Jesus* he did not object against the meanness of his Original, the low condition of his Parents, the narrowness of their fortunes, but only against the place of his birth, which could not be *Nazareth*, the Prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the *Messiah* should be born at *Bethlehem*. By this therefore he appeared to be a true *Israelite*, one that waited for redemption in *Israel*, which from the date of the Scripture-predictions he was assured did now draw nigh. Surprized he was at our Lord's Salutation, wondering how he should know him so well at first sight, whose face he had never seen before. But he was answered, that he had seen him while he was yet under the *Fig-tree*, before *Philip* called him. Convinc'd with this instance of our Lord's Divinity, he presently made his confession, That now he was sure, that *Jesus* was the promised *Messiah*, the Son of God, whom he had appointed to be the King and Governour of his Church. Our Saviour told him, that if upon this inducement he could believe him to be the *Messiah*, he should have far greater arguments to confirm his faith, yea, that e'er long he should behold the Heavens opened to receive him thither, and the Angels visibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

4. CONCERNING our Apostle's travels up and down the World to propagate the Christian Faith, we shall present the Reader with a brief account, though we cannot warrant the exact order of them. That he went as far as *India*, is owned by all, which surely is meant of the *hither India*, or the part of it lying next to *Asia*. * *So-crates* tells us, 'twas the *India bordering upon Æthiopia*, meaning no doubt the *Asian Æthiopia* (whereof we shall speak in the life of *S. Thomas*) || *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*, and tells us, that here he left behind him *S. Matthew's Gospel*, whereof * *Eusebius* gives a more particular relation: That when *Pantænus*, a Man famous for his skill in Philosophy, and especially the Institutions of the *Stoicks*, but much more for his hearty affection to Christianity, in a devout and zealous imitation of the Apostles, was inflamed with a desire to propagate the Christian Religion unto the *Eastern Countries*, he came as far as *India* itself. Here amongst some that yet retained the knowledge of *Christ*, he found *S. Matthew's Gospel* written in *Hebrew*, left here (as the tradition was) by *S. Bartholomew*, one of the twelve Apostles, when he preached the Gospel to these Nations.

5. AFTER his labours in these parts of the World, he returned to the more *Western* and *Northern* parts of *Asia*. At *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in company with *S. Philip*, instructing that place in the principles of Christianity, and convincing them of the folly of their blind Idolatries. Here by the enraged Magistrates he was at the same time with *Philip* designed for Martyrdom; in order whereunto he was fastned upon the Cross, with an intent to dispatch him: but upon a sudden conviction that the Divine Justice would revenge their death, he was taken down again and dismissed. Hence probably he went into *Lycaonia*, the people whereof * *Chrysostom* assures us, he instructed and trained up in the Christian discipline. His last remove was to *Albanople*, in *Armenia* the || *Great* (the same no doubt which * *Nicephorus* calls *Urbanople*, a City of *Cilicia*) a place miserably overgrown with Idolatry; from which while he sought to reclaim the people, he was by the Governour of the place commanded to be crucified, which he cheerfully underwent, comforting and confirming the Convert *Gentiles* to the last minute of his life. || Some add, that he was crucified with his head downwards, others that he was flea'd, and his skin first taken off, which might consist well enough with his Crucifixion, *excoriation* being a punishment in use, not only in *Egypt*, but amongst the *Persians*, next neighbours to these *Armenians* (as * *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, and || *Plutarch* records a particular instance of *Mesabates* the *Persian Eunuch* first flea'd alive, and then crucified) from whom they might easily borrow this piece of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. As for the several stages to which his Body was removed after his death, first to *Daras*, a City in the borders of *Persia*, then to *Liparis*, one of the *Æolian Islands*, thence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*,

John i. 45;

* *H. Eccl. lib. i. c. 19. p. 50.*|| *Apud Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Barthol. * H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 175.** *Serm. in SS. XII. App. p. 269. T. 6.*|| *Sophron. ap. Hier. in Barthol. * Lib. 2. c. 39.*p. 201. vid. *Metaphr. ad Aug. 24.*|| *Hippol. de App. ap. Bar. in Not. ad Martyr. ad Aug. 25.*|| *Isid. de SS. utriusque T. c. 77. * Am. Mar. lib. 23.*|| *In vit. Artaxerx. p. 1019.*|| *Vid. Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. lib. i. and c. 34. p. 46.*

* Decret. Part.
1. Distinct. 15.
c. 3. Sed. Ca-
terum.
|| De Mystic.
Theol. c. 1. §. 3.
p. 3.

and at last of all to *Rome*, they that are fond of those things, and have better leisure, may enquire. *Hereticks* persecuted his memory after his death, no less than *Heathens* did his person while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous *Gospel* upon his name, which, together with others of like stamp, * *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome* justly branded as *Apochryphal*, altogether unworthy the name and patronage of an Apostle. And perhaps of no better authority is the sentence, which *Dionysius* the pretended *Areopagite* records || of our Apostle, *καὶ πολλὴ ἡ θεολογία αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλαχίστη. καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα, καὶ αὐτὸς συντομικὸν, ὅτι θεολογία ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ ἑνὸς*, that *Theology* is both copious, and yet very small; and the *Gospel* diffuse and large, and yet withal concise and short, which he according to his vein expounds concerning the boundless, benignity, but withal incomprehensibleness of the Divine nature, which is *βραχύλεξις ἀμα, καὶ ἄλογος*, quickly dispatch'd, because ineffable, and is not without the veil discoverable to any, but those that have got above not onely all sense and matter, but above all sense and understanding, that is, to the very height of mystical and unintelligible Religion.

The End of S. Bartholomew's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. MATTHEW.



Matthew his Martyrdom

SAINT MATTHEW, called also Levi, was thought a Roman Officer, an Hebrew of the Tribe of Zabulon, famous for the habitation of Joseph and Mary, but especially for the education and residence of our blessed Saviour, who through him brought forth the Kingdom of Heaven. He lived in the City of Nazareth, where he was born, and where he was educated. He was a publican, and was called Levi. He was a Jew, and was born in the City of Nazareth. He was a publican, and was called Levi. He was a Jew, and was born in the City of Nazareth.

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* Apud Kirsten.
vit. 4. Evangel.
p. 22.

* Sueton. in
vit. Vespas. cap.
1. p. 722.

Luke 19. 8.

Καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβεν τὸν ἀποστολὴν τοῦτον ὡς ἀποστολὴν.
Πάντες τὴν αἰσιν, πάντες αἰσιν ἀρπάζει.
Xeno Comic. apud Dicaarch. de vit. Gracia.
cap. 4. p. 29.
Θεοκρίστου ἐρεσινθεῖς ποῖα τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐστὶ χα-
λεπώτατα, ἔπειτα ἐν τῇ τοῖς ὁρεσιν, ἀρπάζει καὶ
λέγει· ἐν τῇ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τὴν αἰσιν καὶ συκοφαντεῖται.
Mufon. apud Stob. Serm. 2. de Malit. p. 31.
Διεβέβητο ὡς τὸν παλαιόν, καὶ τὸ τὸ τὴν αἰσιν
ὄνομα, πεπαρρησιασμένη βία, ἀνεπίμνητο
ἀρπάζει, ἀναίχων τὸν πλεονεξία, περὶ μάλιστα
ἀρπάζει μὴ ἔχουσα, ἀναίχων ἐμπορία. Suid. in voc.
τὴν αἰσιν.

* De pulcrit. c.
7. p. 561.

אין לך
משה
שם
משה
כח
משה
משה

1. SAINT Matthew, called also Levi, was, though a Roman Officer, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, (both his Names speaking him purely of Jewish extract and original) and probably a Galilean, and whom I should have concluded born at, or near Capernaum, but that the Arabick * Writer of his life tells us, he was born at Nazareth, a City in the Tribe of Zebulun, famous for the habitation of Joseph and Mary, but especially the education and residence of our blessed Saviour, who though born at Bethlehem, was both conceiv'd and bred up here, where he lived the whole time of his private life, whence he derived the Title of Jesus of Nazareth. St. Matthew was the Son of Alphæus and Mary, Sister or Kinswoman to the Blessed Virgin; in the same Arabick Author his Father is called Ducu, and his Mother Karutias, both originally descended of the Tribe of Issachar, nothing being more common among the Jews, than for the same Person to have several names, these latter probably express'd in Arabick according to their Jewish signification. His Trade or way of life was that of a Publican or Toll-gatherer to the Romans (which probably had been his Father's Trade, his Name denoted a Broker or Money-changer) an Office of bad report among the Jews. Indeed among the Romans it was accounted a place of power and credit, and honourable reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but Roman Knights; insomuch that T. Fl. Sabinus, Father to the Emperour Vespasian, was the Publican of the Asian Provinces, an Office which he discharged so much to the content and satisfaction of the People, that they erected Statues to him with this Inscription, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ *, To him that has well managed the Publican-office. These Officers being sent into the Provinces to gather the Tributes, were wont to employ the Natives under them, as Persons best skilled in the affairs and customs of their own Country. Two things especially concurred to render this Office odious to the Jews. First, that the Persons that managed it were usually covetous, and great Exactors; for having themselves farmed the Customs of the Romans, they must gripe and scrape by all methods of Extortion, that they might be able both to pay their Rent, and to raise gain and advantage to themselves: which doubtless Zaccheus, the chief of these Farmers, was sensible of, when after his Conversion, he offered four-fold restitution to any Man

from whom he had taken any thing by fraud and evil arts. And upon this account they became infamous, even among the Gentiles themselves, who commonly speak of them as Cheats, and Thieves, and publick Robbers, and worse members of a community, more voracious and destructive in a City, than wild Beasts in the Forest. The other thing that made the Jews so much detest them was, that this Tribute was not only a grievance to their Purfes, but an affront to the liberty and freedom of their Nation; for they looked upon themselves as a Free-born People, and that they had been immediately invested in this privilege by God himself, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and standing instance of their slavery, which of all other things they could least endure, and which therefore betray'd them into so many unfortunate Rebellions against the Romans. Add to this, that these Publicans were not only obliged by the necessity of their Trade to have frequent dealing and converse with the Gentiles (which the Jews held unlawful and abominable) but that being Jews themselves they rigorously exacted these things of their Brethren, and thereby seemed to conspire with the Romans to entail perpetual slavery upon their own Nation. For though * Tertullian thought that none but Gentiles were employed in this

ordid office, yet the contrary is too evident to need any argument to prove it.

2. BY these means Publicans became universally abhorred by the Jewish Nation, that it was accounted unlawful to do them any office of common kindness and courtesy; nay, they held it no sin to cozen and over-reach a Publican, and that with the solemnity of an Oath; they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them; they were looked upon as common Thieves and Robbers, and Money received of them might not be put to the rest of a Man's Estate, it being presumed to have been gained by rapine and violence; they were not admitted as persons fit to give testimony and evidence in any cause: so infamous were they, as not only to be banished all communion in the matters of Divine Worship, but to be shunned in all affairs of civil society and commerce, as the Pests of their Country, Persons of an infectious converse, of as vile a Class as Heathens themselves. Hence the common Proverb among them. Take not a Wife out of that Family, wherein there is a Publican, for they are all Publicans,

cans, that is, Thieves, Robbers, and wicked sinners, To this Proverbial usage our Lord alludes, when speaking of a contumacious sinner, whom neither private reproofs, nor the publick censures and admonitions of the Church, can prevail upon, *Let him be unto thee* (says he) *as an Heathen and a Publican*; as elsewhere *Publicans* and *sinners* are yoked together, as persons of equal esteem and reputation. Of this Trade and Office was our S. *Matthew*, and it seems more particularly to have consisted in gathering the Customs of Commodities that came by the Sea of *Galilee*, and the Tribute which Passengers were to pay that went by Water; a thing frequently mentioned in the Jewish writings, where we are also told of the קשר or *Ticket*, consisting of two greater Letters written in Paper, or some such matter, called קשר מוכסין the *Ticket* or *Signature of the Publicans*, which the Passenger had with him to certify them on the other side the Water, that he had already paid the Toll or Custom: upon which account the *Hebrew Gospel* of S. *Matthew* published by *Munster*, renders *Publican* by בער עברה the *Lord of the Passage*. For this purpose they kept their Office or Custom-house by the Sea-side, that they might be always near at hand; and here it was (as S. *Mark* intimates) that *Matthew* had his Toll-booth, where He sate at the Receipt of Custom.

Matth. 18. 17.

Vid. Buxtorf.
Lex. in voc.
: סוכס

3. OUR Lord having lately cured a famous *Paralytick*, retired out of *Capernaum* to walk by the Sea-side, where he taught the People that flocked after him. Here he espied *Matthew* sitting in his Custom-office, whom he called to come and follow him: The Man was rich, had a wealthy and a gainful Trade, a wife and prudent person (no fools being put into that Office) and understood no doubt what it would cost him to comply with this new employment; that he must exchange Wealth for Poverty, a Custom-house for a Prison, gainful Masters for a naked and despised Saviour. But he overlooked all these considerations, left all his Interests and Relations, to become our Lord's Disciple, and to embrace *μεγαλειαν πνευματικην* (as **Chrysostom* observes) a more spiritual way of commerce and traffick. We cannot suppose that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's Person or Doctrine, especially living at *Capernaum*, the place of *Christ*'s usual residence, where his Sermons and Miracles were so frequent, by which he could not but in some measure be prepared to receive the impressions, which our Saviour's Call now made upon him. And to shew that he was not discontented at his change, nor apprehended himself a loser by this bargain, he entertained our Lord and his disciples at a great Dinner in his House, whither he invited his Friends, especially those of his own Profession, piously hoping that they also might be caught by our Saviour's converse and company. The *Pharisees*, whose Eye was constantly evil where another Man's was good, and who would either find or make occasions to snarl at him, began to suggest to his Disciples, that it was unbecoming so pure and holy a Person as their Master pretended himself to be, thus familiarly to converse with the worst of men, *Publicans* and *sinners*, Persons infamous to a Proverb. But he presently replied upon them, that they were the sick that needed the *Physician*, not the sound and healthy; that his company was most suitable, where the necessities of Souls did most require it; that God himself preferred acts of Mercy and Charity, especially in reclaiming sinners, and doing good to Souls, infinitely before all ritual observances, and the nice rules of Persons conversing with one another; and that the main design of his coming into the World was not to bring the *righteous*, or those who like themselves proudly conceited themselves to be so, and in a vain opinion of their own strictness, loftily scorned all Mankind besides; but *sinners*, modest, humble, self-convinced offenders, to repentance, and to reduce them to a better state and course of life.

Matth. 9. 9.
Mark 2. 13, 14.
Luke 5. 27,
28, 29.* Homil. 11.
in 1. ad Co-
rinth. p. 419.

4. AFTER his election to the Apostolate, he continued with the rest till our Lord's Ascension, and then for the first eight Years at least preached up and down *Judea*. After which, being to betake himself to the Conversion of the *Gentile*-world, he was intreated by the Convert-Jews to commit to writing the History of our Saviour's Life and Actions, and to leave it among them as the standing Record of what he had Preached to them; which he did accordingly, and so composed his *Gospel*, whereof more in due place. Little certainty can be had what Travels he underwent for the advancement of the Christian Faith, so irrecoverably is truth lost in a crowd of Legendary stories. * *Æthiopia* is generally assigned as the Province of his Apostolical Ministry. || *Metaphrastes* tells us, that he went first into *Parthia*, and having successfully planted Christianity in those Parts, thence travelled into *Æthiopia*, that is, the *Asiatick Æthiopia*, lying near to *India*: here by Preaching and Miracles he mightily triumphed over Error and Idolatry, convinced and converted Multitudes, ordained

* Socrat. l. 1.
c. 19. p. 50.
|| Apud Sur. ad
diem 21. Sep-
temb. Vol. 3.
p. 217.

spiritual Guides and Pastours to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the Faith, and then finished his own course. As for what is related by * *Nicephorus* of his going into the Country of the *Cannibals*, constituting *Plato*, one of his followers, Bishop of *Myrmene*; of *Christ's* appearing to him in the form of a beautiful Youth, and giving him a Wand, which he pitching into the ground, immediately it grew up into a Tree; of his strange converting the Prince of that Country, of his numerous Miracles, peaceable Death, and sumptuous Funerals, with abundance more of the same stamp and coin, they are justly to be reckoned amongst those fabulous reports, that have no pillar or ground either of truth or probability to support them.

* *Inde triumphans fert India Bartholomæum: Matthæum eximium Naddaber alta virum.*
Ven. Fortun. de Senat. Cur. Cal. Poem. lib. 7. p. 817.

† *Ubi supr. p. 30.*
Ibid. p. 31.

|| *Synops. de vit. & mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.*

* *Reg. fusiis disput. Interrog. VIII. pag. 545. Tom. 2.*

|| *Ap. Hieron. in Matth. 9. p. 26. Tom. 9.*

* *Clem. Alex. Pedag. lib. 2. 1. p. 148.*

Ceteri Evangelistæ in conjunctione nominum primum ponunt Matthæum, & postea Thomam: iste vero & post Thomam se ponit, & Publicanum appellat; ut ubi abundavit iniquitas, superabundet & gratia. Hieron. Comm. in Matth. c. 10. p. 29. T. 9.

Ceteri Evangelistæ nec Publicani nomen a-

Most probable it is (what an Ancient * *Writer* affirms) that he suffered Martyrdom at *Naddaber* a City in *Æthiopia*, but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. Whether this *Naddaber* be the same with *Beschberi*, where the *Arabick* † *Writer* of his Life affirms him to have suffered Martyrdom, let others enquire: he also adds, that he was buried at *Arthaganeu Cesarea*, but where that is, is to me unknown. || *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*, one of the first places to which he preached the Gospel.

5. HE was a great instance of the power of Religion, how much a Man may be brought off to a better temper. If we reflect upon his circumstances, while yet a stranger to *Christ*, we shall find that the World had very great advantages upon him. He was become a Master of a plentiful Estate, engaged in a rich and a gainful Trade, supported by the power and favour of the *Romans*, prompted by covetous inclinations, and these confirmed by long habits and customs. And yet notwithstanding all this, no sooner did *Christ* call, but without the least scruple or dissatisfaction, he flung up all at once; and not only renounced (as *S. Basil* * observes) his gainful incomes, but ran an immediate hazard of the displeasure of his Masters that employed him, for quitting their service, and leaving his accounts entangled and confused behind him. Had our Saviour been a mighty Prince, it had been no wonder, that he should run over to his service: but when he appeared under all the circumstances of meanness and disgrace, when he seemed to promise his followers nothing but misery and suffering in this life, and to propound no other rewards but the invisible encouragements of another World; his change in this case was the more strange and admirable. Indeed so admirable, that *Porphyry* and || *Julian* (two subtil and acute adversaries of the Christian Religion) hence took occasion to charge him either with falsehood, or with folly; either that he gave not a true account of the thing; or, that it was very weakly done of him, so hastily to follow any one that call'd him. But the Holy *Jesus* was no common Person, in all his commands there was somewhat more than ordinary. Indeed *S. Hierom* conceives that besides the Divinity that manifested it self in his Miracles, there was a divine brightness and a kind of Majesty in our Saviour's looks, that at first sight was attractive enough to draw Persons after him. However, his miraculous Powers, that reflected a lustre from every quarter, and the efficacy of his Doctrine accompanied with the grace of God, made way for the summons that was sent our Apostle, and enabled him to conquer all oppositions that stood in the way to hinder him.

6. HIS contempt of the World farther appeared in his exemplary temperance and abstemiousness from all the delights and pleasures, yea the ordinary conveniences and accommodations of it; so far from indulging his appetite with nice and delicate curiosities, that he refused to gratify it with lawful and ordinary provisions, eating no flesh; his usual Diet being nothing but Herbs, Roots, Seeds and * *Berries*. But what appeared most remarkable in him, and which though the least vertue in it self, is the greatest in a wise Man's esteem and value, was his humility, mean and modest in his own conceit, in honour preferring others before himself. Whereas the other Evangelists in describing the Apostles by pairs, constantly place him before *Thomas*, he modestly places him before himself. The rest of the Evangelists openly mention the honour of his Apostleship, but speak of his former sordid, dishonest and disgraceful course of life, only under the name of *Levi*, while he himself sets it down, with all its circumstances, under his own proper and common name. Which as at once it commends his own candour and ingenuity, so it administers to us this not unuseful consideration, That the greatest sinners are not excluded the lines of Divine grace; nor can any, if penitent, have just reason to despair, when *Publicans* and *sinners* are taken in. And as *S. Matthew* himself does

does freely and impartially record his own vile and dishonourable course of life; so the two other Evangelists, though setting down the story, take notice of him only under another name; to teach us to treat a penitent Brother with all modesty and tenderness. *If a man repent (say the Jews) לא יאמר לו זכור מעשיך הראשונים* Let no man say to him, remember thy former works; which they explain not only concerning Israelites, but even Strangers and Profelytes. It being against the Rules of Civility, as well as the Laws of Religion, when a Man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the errors and follies of his past life.

7. THE last thing that calls for any remarks in the life of this Apostle is his Gospel, written at the intreaty of the Jewish Converts, and as Epiphanius tells * us, at the command of the Apostles, while he was yet in Palestine, about Eight Years after the death of Christ: though || Nicephorus will have it to be written Fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension; and * Irenaeus yet much wider, who seems to imply that it was written while Peter and Paul preached at Rome, which was not according to the common account till near Thirty Years after. But most plain it is, that it must be written before the dispersion of the Apostles, seeing S. Bartholomew (as we have noted in his Life) took it along with him into India, and left it there. He wrote it in Hebrew, as primarily designing it for the use of his Country-men; and strange it is, that any should question its being originally written in that Language, when the thing is so universally and uncontroulably asserted by all antiquity, not one that I know of, after the strictest enquiry I could make, dissenting in this matter, and who certainly had far greater opportunities of being satisfied in these things, than we can have at so great a distance. It was no doubt soon after translated into Greek, though by whom S. Hierom professes he could not tell; * Theophylact says it was reported to have been done by S. John, but || Athanasius more expressly attributes the Translation to Saint James the less. The best is, it matters not much whether it was translated by an Apostle, or some Disciple, so long as the Apostles approved the Version, and that the Church has ever received the Greek Copy for Authentick, and reposed it in the Sacred Canon. And therefore when the late Arrian advocate * brings in one of his party challenging the divine Authority of this Gospel, because but a Translation, he might have remembered tis such a translation, as has all the advantages of an Original; as being translated while the Apostles were yet in being to supervise and ratify it, and whose Authority has always been held sacred and inviolable by the whole Church of God. But the plain truth of the case is, S. Matthew is a back-friend to the Antitrinitarian cause, as recording that express Command, Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Which words must needs be supposititious, and added by some ignorant hand, for no other reason but because they make against them. Nay the whole Gospel we see must be discarded, rather than stand in the way of a dear and belov'd opinion.

8. AFTER the Greek Translation was entertained, the Hebrew Copy was chiefly owned and used by the * Nazaraei, a middle Sect of Men between Jews and Christians; with the Christians they believ'd in Christ, and embraced his Religion; with the Jews they adhered to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mosaick Law; and hence this Gospel came to be stiled the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel of the Nazarenes. By them it was by degrees interpolated, several Passages of the Evangelical History, which they had heard either from the Apostles, or those who had familiarly conversed with them, being inserted, which the Ancient Fathers frequently refer to in their Writings; as by the || Ebionites it was mutilated, and many things cut off, for the same reason for which the followers of Cerinthus, though making use of the greatest part of it, rejected the rest, because it made so much against them. This Hebrew Copy (though whether exactly the same as it was written by S. Matthew, I will not say) was found among other Books in the Treasury of the Jews at * Tiberias, by Joseph a Jew, and after his Conversion a Man of great honour and esteem in the time of Constantine; another || S. Hierom assures us, was kept in the Library at Caesarea in his time, and another by the Nazarenes at Berea, from whom he had the Liberty to transcribe it, and which he afterwards translated both into Greek and Latin; with this particular observation, that in quoting the Text of the Old Testament, the Evangelist immediately follows the Hebrew, without taking notice of the Translation of the Septuagint. A Copy also of this Gospel was Anno CCCCLXXXV. dug

scribunt: ne antiqua conversionis recordantes jugillare Evangelistam viderentur. Hieron. ibid. Bava Metzia, fol. 58. 2.

* Hæref. 51. p. 185.

H. Eccl. lib. 2.

c. 45. p. 213.

* Adv. Hæf.

lib. 3. c. 1. p. 229.

Papias ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113. Iren. l. 3. c. 1. p. 229. Origen. Exposit. in Matth. l. 5. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226. Athan. Synops. S. Script. p. 493. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 14. p. 341. Epiphani. Hæref. 29. p. 59. Hæf. 51. p. 185. Chrysost. Homil. 1. in Matth. p. 4. Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Matth. Pref. in 4. Evang. ad Dam. Tom. 3. p. 30. & alibi sæpe. August. de Consens. Evang. lib. 1. c. 2. col. 372. Doroth. Synops. de vit. App. p. 148. Anast. Sinait. Hexaem. lib. 8. Arabs quidam in vit. MS. Matthæi apud Kirsten. de vit. Quat. Evangel. n. 10. p. 29. Paraph. Syrus ad cal. Evangel. S. Matth. Ita Arabs & versio Persic. Prefat. ad id. Evangel.

* Pref. Comment. in Matth. pag. 2.

|| Synops. S. Script. p. 493.

* Sand. interpret. paradox. ad Matth. 28. 20.

* Epiph. Hæref. 29. p. 59.

|| Epiph. Hæref. 40. p. 64. id. Hæf. 27. p. 54.

* Epiph. ib. Hæref. XXX. p. 60. vid. p. 61. || De Script. Eccl. in Matth.

* Teodor.
Leff. Colletan.
lib. 2. non longe
ab init. p. 184.

up and found in the Grave of *Barnabas* in *Cyprus*, transcribed with his own * hand. But these Copies are long since perished, and for those that have been since published to the World, both by *Tile* and *Munster*, were there no other argument, they too openly betray themselves by their barbarous and improper style, not to be the genuine issue of that less corrupt and better Age.

The End of S. Matthew's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. THOMAS.

S. Thomas.



S. Thomas his Martyrdom.



Joh. 11. 16. Thomas which is called Didymus said unto his fellow-disciples, Let us also goe, that we may die with him.

By the command of an Indian King he was thrust through with lances. Baron. Martyrolog. Dec. 21.

The custom of the Jews to have both an Hebrew and a Roman name. S. Thomas his name the same in Syriack and Greek. His Country and Trade. His call to the Apostleship. His great affection to our Saviour. Christ's discourse with him concerning the way to Eternal Life. His obstinate refusal to believe our Lord's Resurrection, and the unreasonableness of his Infidelity. Our Lord's convincing him by sensible demonstrations. S. Thomas his deputing Thaddæus to Abgarus of Edessa. His Travels into Parthia, Medea, Persia, &c. Æthiopia, what, and where situate. His coming into India, and the success of his Preaching there. An account of his Acts in India, from the relation of the Portugals at their first coming thither. His converting the King of Malipur. The manner of his Martyrdom by the Brachmans. The Miracles said to be done at his Tomb. His Bones dug up by the Portugals. A Cross, and several Brass Tables with Inscriptions found there. An account of the Indian or Saint-Thomas-Christians; their Number, State, Rites, and way of life.

1. **I**T was customary with the Jews, when travelling into foreign Countries, or familiarly conversing with the Greeks and Romans, to assume to themselves a Greek or a Latin name, of great affinity, and sometimes of the very same signification with that of their own Country. Thus our Lord was called *Christ*, answering

obstinacy, confessing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and Master, a God omnipotent, that was thus able to rescue himself from the powers of death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own senses, but that it was a more noble and commendable act of Faith to acquiesce in a rational evidence, and to entertain the doctrines and relations of the Gospel upon such testimonies and assurances of the truth of things, as will satisfy a wise and sober man, though he did not see them with his own eyes.

3. THE Blessed Jesus being gone to Heaven, and having eminently given gifts and miraculous powers to the Apostles, S. Thomas moved thereto by some Divine intimation, * said to have dispatched Thaddæus, one of the Seventy Disciples to Abgarus * Euseb. lib. i. Toparch of Edessa, (between whom and our Saviour the letters commonly said to have passed, are still extant in Eusebius) whom he first cured of an inveterate distemper, and after converted him and his subjects to the Faith.

The Apostolical Province assigned to S. Thomas (as * Origen tells us) was Parthia, after which || Sopbronius and others inform us, that he preached the Gospel to the Medes, Persians, Carmans, Hyrcani, Bactrians, and the neighbour Nations. In

Persia, one of the * Ancients (upon what ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met with the Magi or Wisemen, who came that long journey from the East to bring presents to our new-born Saviour, whom he baptized and took along with him as his companions and assistants in the propagation of the Gospel. Hence he preached in

and passed through † Æthiopia, that is (that we may a little clear this by the way) the Asian Æthiopia, conterminous to, if not the same with Chaldaea; whence || Tacitus does not only make the Jews descendants from the Æthiopians, as whose Ancestors

came from Ur of the Chaldeans; but * Hesychius makes the Inhabitants of Zagrus, a Mountain beyond Tigris, Αἰθίοπες, a people of the Æthiopians; this is the ארץ כוש mentioned by Benjamin the Jew, in his || Itinerary, the land of Cush or

Æthiopia, the Inhabitants whereof are stiled by * Herodotus, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, Αἰθίοπες, the oriental Æthiopians; by way of distinction from those Αἰθίοπες, who lived South of Ægypt, and were under the same military Prefecture with the Arabians,

under the command of Arsames, as the other were joined with the Indians, and in the same place are called οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, the Asian Æthiopians. Having travelled through these Countries, he at last came into India. We are told by || Nicéphorus, that he was at first unwilling to venture himself into those Countries, fearing he should

find their manners as rude and intractable as their faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a Vision, that assured him of the Divine Presence to assist him, he travelled a great way into those Eastern Nations, as far as the Island Taprobane, since called Sumatra, and the Country of the Brachmans, preaching every where with all

the arts of gentleness and mild * persuasives, not flying out into tart invectives, and furious heats against their Idolatrous practices, but calmly instructing them in the principles of Christianity, by degrees persuading them to renounce their follies, knowing that confirmed habits must be cured by patience and long forbearing, by slow and gentle methods; and by these means he wrought upon the People, and brought them over from the grossest errors and superstition to the hearty belief and entertainment of Religion.

4. IN want of better evidence from antiquity, it may not be amiss to enquire, what account the Portugals in their first discoveries of these Countries, received of these matters, partly from ancient Monuments and Writings, partly from constant and uncontrolled Traditions, which the Christians whom they found in those parts, preserved amongst them. They tell † us, that S. Thomas came first to Socotora, an Island

in the Arabian Sea, thence to Cranganor, where having converted many, he travelled farther into the East, and having successfully preached the Gospel, returned back into the Kingdom of Cormandel, where at Malipur, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, not far from the influx of the Ganges into the Gulph of Bengala, he began to erect a place for Divine Worship, till prohibited by the Priests, and Sagamo, Prince of that Country. But upon the conviction of several Miracles the work went on, and the Sagamo himself

embraced the Christian Faith, whose example was soon followed by great numbers of his friends and subjects. The Brachmans, who plainly perceived that this would certainly spoil their Trade, and in time extirpate the Religion of their Country, thought it high time to put a stop to this growing Novelism, and resolved in Council, that

some way or other the Apostle must be put to death. There was a Tomb not far from the City, whither the Apostle was wont to retire to his solitudes and private devotions;

hither

* Lib. 3. in Gen. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Socr. lib. 1. c. 19. Clem. Recognit. lib. 9. p. 101. fac. 2. || Ap. Hier. de Script. in Thoma. Theod. de Leg. Serm. 9.

* Auth. Oper. Imperf. in Matth. ap. Chrysost. Hom. 2. p. 776.

† Chrysost. Serm. in XII. App. T. 6. p. 269. || Hist. lib. 5. c. 2.

* Hesych. in voc. 2. d. 21. || Itin. D. Benj. Jud. p. 98. * L. b. 7. c. 69, 70. p. 408.

* S. Metaphr. ad 21. Decem. n. 8, 9.

† Maff. Hist. Indic. lib. 2. p. 85.

* De glor.
Martyr. lib. 1.
cap. 32. p. 41.

|| Maff. ib. lib.
8. p. 363.

Ofor. de reb.
Eman. lib. 3.
p. 120.

hither the *Brachmans* and their armed followers pursue the Apostle, and while he was intent at prayer, they first load him with darts and stones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a *Lance*. His Body was taken up by his Disciples, and buried in the Church which he had lately built, and which was afterwards improved into a fabrick of great stateliness and magnificence. *Gregory* of **Tours* relates many miracles done upon the annual solemnities of his Martyrdom, and one standing miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he received from one *Theodorus*, who had himself been in that place; viz. that in the Temple where the Apostle was buried there hung a *Lamp* before his Tomb, which burnt perpetually, without Oil or any Fuel to feed and nourish it, the light whereof was never diminished, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguished. But whether Travellers might not herein be imposed upon by the crafty artifices of the Priests, or those who did attend the Church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by art, I leave to others to enquire. Some will have his Body to have been afterwards translated to *Edeffa*, a City in *Mesopotamia*; but the Christians in the *East* constantly affirm it to have remained in the place of his Martyrdom, where (if we may believe || relations) it was after dug up with great cost and care at the command of *Don Emanuel Frea*, Governour of the Coast of *Cormandel*, and together with it was found the Bones of the *Sagamo*, whom he had converted to the Faith.

5. WHILE *Don Alfonso Sousa*, one of the Viceroy's in *India* under *John* the Third, King of *Portugal*, resided in these Parts, certain Brass Tables were brought to him, whose ancient Inscriptions could scarce be read, till at last, by the help of a Jew, an excellent Antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a donation made to *S. Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reign'd, granted to him a piece of ground for the building of a Church. They tell us also of a famous Cross found in *S. Thomas* his Chapel at *Malipur*, wherein was an unintelligible Inscription, which by a Learned *Bramin* (whom they compelled to read and expound it) gave an account to this effect, that *Thomas* a Divine person was sent into those Countries by the Son of God in the time of King *Sagamo*, to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, that he built a Church, and performed admirable Miracles, but at last while upon his knees at Prayer was by a *Brachman* thrust through with a Spear; and that that Cross stained with his blood had been left as a memorial of these matters. An interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned *Bramin*, who expounded the Inscription to the very same effect. The judicious Reader will measure his belief of these things by the credit of the Reporters, and the rational probability of the things themselves, which for my part, as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, so I will not utterly conclude them to be false.

6. FROM these first plantations of Christianity in the *Eastern-India's* by our Apostle, there is said to have been a continued series and succession of Christians (hence called *S. Thomas-Christians*) in those parts unto this day. The *Portugals* at their first arrival here found them in great numbers in several places, no less, as some tell us, than fifteen or sixteen thousand Families. They are very poor, and

Ofor. ibid. p. 119. & seq. Maff. lib. 2. p. 88.
Joseph. Ind. Navig. inter relat. Nov. Orb. c. 133,
134. p. 204. vid. M. Paul. Ven. lib. 3. c. 17. ibid. p. 394.

their Churches generally mean and sordid, wherein they had no Images of Saints, nor any representations but that of the Cross; they are governed in Spirituals by an *High-Priest* (whom some make an *Armenian* Patriarch, of the Sect of *Nestorius*, but in truth is no other than the Patriarch of *Muzal*, the remainder, as is probable, of the ancient *Selucia*, and by some, though erroneously, stiled *Babylon*) residing northward in the Mountains, who, together with twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs and several Bishops, disposes all affairs referring to Religion; and to him all the Christians of the *East* yield subjection. They promiscuously admit all to the Holy Communion, which they receive under both kinds of Bread and Wine; though instead of Wine, which their Country affords not, making use of the juice of Raisins, steep'd one Night in Water, and then pressed forth. Children, unless in case of sickness, are not baptized till the Fortieth day. At the death of Friends, their kindred and relations keep an eight-days Feast in memory of the departed. Every Lord's-day they have their publick Assemblies for Prayer and Preaching, their devotions being managed with great reverence and solemnity. Their Bible, at least the New Testament, is in the *Syriack* Language, to the study whereof the Preachers earnestly exhort the People. They observe the times of *Advent* and *Lent*, the Festivals of our Lord, and many of the Saints, those especially that relate to *S. Thomas*, the *Dominica in Albis*, or Sunday after *Easter*, in memory of the famous confession which *S. Thomas* on that day made of *Christ*, after he had been sensibly

ensibly cured of his unbelief; another on the first of *July*, celebrated not only by Christians, but by *Moors* and *Pagans*, the People who come to his Sepulchre on Pilgrimage carrying away a little of the red Earth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an inestimable treasure, and conceit it sovereign against Diseases. They have a kind of *Monasteries* of the *Religious*, who live in great abstinence and chastity. Their Priests are shaven in fashion of a Cross, have leave to marry once, but denied a second time: No marriages to be dissolved, but by Death. These rites and customs they solemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of *S. Thomas*, and with the greatest care and diligence do observe them at this Day.

The End of S. Thomas's Life.

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tenibly cured of his unbelief; another on the fifth of July celebrated not only by Christians, but by Jews and Pagans, the People who come to his Sepulchre on Pilgrimage carrying away a hint of the truth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an inestimable treasure, and for ever in reverence against Dissenters. They have a kind of Masses of the Religion, who live in great abstinence and chastity. Their Priests are shaven in fashion of a Cross, have leave to marry once, but denied a second time: No marriages to be dissolved, but by Death. Their rites and customs they solemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of S. Thomas, and with the greatest care and diligence do observe them at this Day.

The End of S. Thomas's Life.

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S. JAMES the Less.

S. JAMES Minor.



This Apostle being a Kinsman of our Lord and having Sale first Bishop of Hierusalem, was cast down from the top of the temple and

The Martyrdom of St. James & Iose.



Matth. 23. 37. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, & stonest them which are sent unto thee.

S. James the Less proved to be the same with him that was Bishop of Jerusalem. His Kindred and Relations. The Son of Joseph by a former Wife. The Brethren of our Lord, who. His Country what. Our Lord's appearance to him after his Resurrection. Invested in the See of Jerusalem, by whom, and why. His Authority in the Synod at Jerusalem. His great diligence and fidelity in his Ministry. The Conspiracy of his Enemies to take away his Life. His Discourse with the Scribes and Pharisees about the Messiah. His Martyrdom, and the manner of it. His Burial where. His Death resented by the Jews. His strictness in Religion. His Priesthood whence. His singular delight in Prayer, and efficacy in it. His great love and charity to Men. His admirable Humility. His Temperance according to the rules of the Nazarite-Order. The love and respect of the People towards him. His Death an inlet to the destruction of the Jewish Nation. His Epistle when written. What the design and purpose of it. The Proto-evangelium ascribed to him.

BEFORE we can enter upon the Life of this Apostle, some difficulty must be cleared, relating to his Person. Doubted it has been by some, whether this was the same with that S. James that was Bishop of Jerusalem, three of this Name being presented to us; S. James the Great, this S. James the Less (both Apostles)

Apostles) and a third surnamed the *Just*, distinct (say they) from the former, and Bishop of *Jerusalem*. But this (however pretending to some little countenance from antiquity) is a very great mistake, and built upon a sandy bottom. For besides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this Name, and both Apostles, nothing can be plainer, than that that S. James the Apostle, whom S. Paul calls *our Lord's Brother*, and reckons with Peter and John one of the *Pillars* of the Church, was the same that presided among the Apostles (no doubt by virtue of his place, it being his

Episcopal Chair, and determined in the *Synod* at *Jerusalem*. Nor do either *Clemens* * *Alexandrinus* or *Eusebius* out of him mention any more than two; S. James put to death by *Herod*, and S. James the *Just*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom they expressly affirm to be the same with him whom S. Paul calls the *Brother of our Lord*. Once indeed || *Eusebius* makes our S. James one of the *Seventy*, * though elsewhere quoting a place of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, he numbers him with the chief

* Δύο ὃ γέγονασιν Ἰάκωβος ὁ δίδυμος καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν βιβλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Αὐτὰς ὃ τὸ δικαίον καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων ἑτέρων ὃ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκ τῶν ἐν μὴ Ἰάκωβον ἀδελφὸν τὸν κυρίου. Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. l. 7. ap. Euf. l. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

|| H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 31.

* Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 38.

* Comment. in Isai. cap. 17. p. 60. T. 5. || Atv. Helvid. T. 2. p. 10.

of the Apostles, and expressly distinguishes him from the *Seventy Disciples*. Nay S. *Hierom*, though when representing the Opinion of others he styles him the *Thirteenth* Apostle, yet || elsewhere when speaking his own sense, sufficiently proves that there were but two, James the Son of *Zebedee*, and the other the Son of *Alphaeus*; the one surnamed the *Greater*, the other the *Less*. Besides, that the main support of the other Opinion is built upon the Authority of *Clemens* his *Recognitions*, a Book in doubtful cases of no esteem and value.

* Comment. in Mat. 12. p. 38. T. 9. || Ap. Niceph. l. 2. c. 3. p. 135.

* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 38. || Cont. Cerinth. Hæres. XXVIII. p. 55. contr. Naz. Hæres. XXIX. p. 56. & contra Antidicomar. Hæres. lxxviii. p. 438, 439. Greg. Nyssen. de Resurrex. Christ. Orat. II. p. 844. Tom. 2. Mat. 13. 55, 56.

2. THIS doubt being removed, we proceed to the History of his Life. He was the Son (as we may probably conjecture) of *Joseph* (afterwards Husband to the Blessed *Virgin*) and his first Wife, whom * S. *Hierom* from Tradition styles *Escha*, *Hippolytus* Bishop of *Porto* calls *Salome*, and farther adds, || that she was the Daughter of *Aggi*, Brother to *Zacharias*, Father to *John the Baptist*: Hence reputed our Lord's Brother, in the same sense that he was reputed the Son of *Joseph*. Indeed we find several spoken of in the History of the Gospel, who were *Christ's* Brethren; but in what sense, was controverted of old. S. *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, and some others will have them so called, because the Sons of *Mary*, Cousin-germain, or according to the custom of the *Hebrew* Language, Sister to the *Virgin Mary*. But * *Eusebius*, || *Epiphanius*, and the far greater part of the Ancients (from whom, especially in matters of fact, we are not rashly to depart) make them the Children of *Joseph*, by a former Wife. And this seems most genuine and natural, the Evangelists seeming very express and accurate in the account which they give of them: *Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his Mother called Mary? and his Brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Jude? and his Sisters* (whose Names, says the foresaid *Hippolytus*, were *Esther* and *Thamar*) *are they not all with us, whence then hath this man these things?* By which it is plain, that the *Jews* understood these Persons not to be *Christ's* Kinsmen only, but his Brothers, the same Carpenter's Sons, having the same relation to him that *Christ* himself had: though indeed they had more, *Christ* being but his reputed, they his natural Sons. Upon this account the Blessed *Virgin* is sometimes called the *Mother of James and Joses*; for so

Matth. 27. 56. Mark 14. 40. Μαριάμ ἡ Ἰακώβου, καὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ τῶν ἀλλοίων Εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀνομαστωμένων, ἡ Θεοτόκος ἡ καὶ ἐκ ἄλλου πεπρωμένη. Greg. Nyssen. loc. supr. laud. John 19. 25.

Ubi supr.

|| Antiquit. Jud. l. 20. c. 8. p. 698. M. Matth. 10. 3

amongst the Women that attended at our Lord's Crucifixion, we find three eminently taken notice of, *Mary Magdalen*, *Mary the Mother of James and Joses*, and the *Mother of Zebedee's Children*. Where by *Mary the Mother of James and Joses*, no other can be meant than the *Virgin Mary*: it not being reasonable to suppose that the Evangelists should omit the Blessed *Virgin*, who was certainly there; and therefore S. *John* reckoning up the same Persons, expressly styles her the *Mother of Jesus*. And though it is true she was but S. James his Mother-in-law, yet the Evangelists might chuse so to style her, because commonly so called after *Joseph's* death; and probably (as *Gregory* of *Nyssa* thinks) known by that Name all along, chusing that Title that the Son of God, whom as a *Virgin* she had brought forth, might be better concealed, and less exposed to the malice of the envious *Jews*: Nor is it any more wonder, that she should be esteemed and called the *Mother of James*, than that *Joseph* should be styled and accounted the *Father of Jesus*. To which add, that || *Josephus*, eminently skilful in matters of Genealogy and descent, expressly says that our S. James was the *Brother of Jesus Christ*. One thing there is that may seem to lie against it, that he is called the *Son of Alphaeus*. But this may probably mean no more, than either that *Joseph* was so called by another Name (it being frequent, yea almost constant among the *Jews* for the same Person to have two Names; *Quis unquam prohiberit*

buerit duobus vel tribus nominibus hominem unum vocari? as S. *Augustin speaks in a parallel case) or (as a Learned || Man conjectures) it may relate to his being a Disciple of some particular Sect or Synagogue among the Jews called *Alpheans*; from *ἄλφαι* denoting a Family or Society of devout and learned Men of somewhat more eminency than the rest, there being as he tells us many such at this time among the Jews; and in this probably S. James had entered himself, the great reputation of his Piety and strictness, his Wisdom, Parts and Learning rendering the conjecture above the censure of being trifling and contemptible.

3. OF the place of his Birth the Sacred Story makes no mention. The Jews in their *Talmud (for doubtless they intend the same Person) style him more than once *איש נפר סכניא* a man of the Town of Sechania; though where that was, I am not able to conjecture. What was his particular way and course of life before his being called to the Discipleship and Apostolate, we find no intimations of in the History of the Gospel, nor any distinct account concerning him during our Saviour's life. After the Resurrection he was honoured with a particular appearance of our Lord to him, which though silently passed over by the Evangelists, is recorded by S. Paul, next to the manifesting himself to the Five Hundred Brethren at once, he was seen of James, which is by all understood of our Apostle. || S. Hierom out of the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarens (wherein many passages are set down, omitted by the Evangelical Historians) gives us a fuller relation of it; viz. that S. James had solemnly sworn, that from the time that he had drank of the Cup at the Institution of the Supper, he would eat Bread no more, till he saw the Lord risen from the dead. Our Lord therefore being returned from the Grave, came and appeared to him, commanded Bread to be set before him, which he took, blessed, and brake, and gave to S. James, saying, *Eat thy Bread, my Brother, for the Son of Man is truly risen from among them that sleep.* After Christ's Ascension (though I will not adventure to determine the precise time) he was chosen Bishop of Jerusalem, preferred before all the rest, for his near relation unto Christ; for this we find to have been the reason why they chose *Symeon to be his immediate Successor in that See, because he was after him our Lord's next Kinsman. A consideration that made Peter, and the two Sons of Zebedee, though they had been peculiarly honoured by our Saviour, not to contend for this high and honourable || Place, but freely chuse James the Just to be Bishop of it. This dignity is by some of the *Ancients said to have been conferred on him by Christ himself, constituting him Bishop at the time of his appearing to him. But it's safest with others to understand it of its being done by the Apostles, or possibly by some particular intimation concerning it, which our Lord might leave behind him.

4. TO him we find S. Paul making his Address after his Conversion, by whom he was honoured with the right hand of fellowship: to him Peter sent the news of his miraculous deliverance out of Prison, *Go shew these things unto James, and to the Brethren*; that is, to the whole Church, and especially S. James the Bishop and Pastor of it. But he was principally active in the Synod at Jerusalem in the great controversy about the *Mosaic Rites*: for the case being opened by Peter, and farther debated by Paul and Barnabas, at last stood up S. James to pass the final and decretory sentence, that the Gentile-converts were not to be troubled with the bondage of the Jewish Yoke, only that for a present accommodation some few indifferent Rites should be observed; ushering in the expedient with this positive conclusion, *Ἀφ' ἑγὼ κρίνω*, I thus judge or decide the matter, *this is my sentence* and determination. A circumstance the more considerable, because spoken at the same time when Peter was in Council, who produced no such intimation of his Authority. Had the Champions of the Church of Rome but such a passage for Peter's judiciary Authority and Power, it would no doubt have made a louder noise in the World, than, *Thou art Peter, or, Feed my sheep.*

ἡ ἀποστολὴ· ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἦν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας· Chrysost. Homil. 33. in Act. App. p. 676. Πέτρος δὲ δυνάστευε, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος, οὐ μὴν θεῶν, καὶ ὁλίτοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ τῷ ἐκκλησίας· σιωπῶντες μὲν ἦσαν. Ἐφ' αὐτὸν κείνῳ, ὃ ἡ κείνῳ ἀδελφὸν ἡ δέμης, ὅτε παύλῳ τὸ ἡ-ρίσμα. Helych. Presb. Hierosol. Serm. in Jac. apud Phot. Cod. CLXXV. col. 1525.

5. HE administered his Province with all possible care and industry, omitting no part of a diligent and faithful Guide of Souls; strengthening the weak, informing the ignorant, reducing the erroneous, reproving the obstinate, and by the constancy of his Preaching conquering the stubbornness of that perverse and refractory Generation that he had to deal with; many of the nobler and better sort being brought over to a compliance with the Christian Faith. So careful, so successful in his charge, that he awakened the spite and malice of his Enemies to conspire his ruine: a sort of Men, of whom the Apostle has given too true a character, *that they please not God, and are contrary*

* De Confess. Evange. lib. 2. c. 28. col. 432. || Bolduc. de Eccl. post leg. c. 7. p. 47.

* Midr. Kobel. & Abod Zarah cap. 2. & Glossa En Mischp. vid. Chr. Nold. Hist. Idum. p. 394.

1 Cor. 15. 7.

|| De Script. Eccl. in Jacob. mir.

* Hegesip. apud Euseb. lib. 4.

c. 22. p. 142.

|| Clem. Al. Hypot. 1. 5. ap. Euseb. 1. 2. c. 1.

p. 38.

* Phot. Ep. 117.

ad Theodol. 1.

Monach. p. 158.

Theophyl. in

1. ad Cor. 15. 7.

vid. Euseb. 1. 7.

c. 13. p. 265.

Gal. 1. 19. 2. 9.

Acts 12. 17.

Acts 15. 13.

Μετὰ Πέτρον Παύλῳ θύετ' ὡς ὁ δὲ εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν Ἰακώβου ἀνέβη, καὶ

Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 64.

Id. ib. p. 63. *contrary to all men.* Vexed they were to see, that S. Paul by appealing to *Cæsar* had escaped their hands: Malice is as greedy and insatiable as Hell it self, and therefore now turn their revenge upon S. James, which not being able to effect under *Festus* his Government, they more effectually attempted under the Procuratorship of *Albinus* his Successor, *Ananus* the Younger; then High Priest, and of the Sect of the *Sadducees*, (ὡς τὸς ἱεροῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, says * *Josephus*, speaking of this very passage, of all others the most merciless and implacable Justicers) resolving to dispatch him before the new Governour could arrive. To this end a Council is hastily summoned, and the Apostle with some others arraigned and condemned as Violators of the Law. But that the thing might be carried in a more plausible and popular way, they set the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* (Crafts-masters in the arts of dissimulation) at work to ensnare him, who coming to him, began by flattering insinuations to set upon him. They tell him, that they all had a mighty confidence in him, and that the whole Nation as well as they gave him the testimony of a most just Man, and one that was no respecter of Persons; that therefore they desired he would correct the error and false Opinion which the People had of *Jesus*, whom they looked upon as the *Messiah*, and would take this opportunity of the universal confluence to the *Paschal* solemnity, to set them right in their notions about these things, and would to that end go up with them to the top of the Temple, where he might be seen and heard by all. Being advantageously placed upon a Pinnacle or Wing of the Temple, they made this address to him. Tell us, O Justus, whom we have all the reason in the world to believe, that seeing the People are thus generally led away with the Doctrine of *Jesus* that was crucified, tell us, What is this Institution of the crucified *Jesus*? To which the Apostle answered with an audible voice; Why do ye enquire of *Jesus* the Son of Man? he sits in Heaven on the right hand of the Majesty on high, and will come again in the Clouds of Heaven. The People below hearing it glorified the Blessed *Jesus*, and openly proclaimed *Hosanna to the Son of David*. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees* perceived now that they had over-shot themselves, and that instead of reclaiming, they had confirmed the People in their Error; that there was no way left, but presently to dispatch him, that by his sad fate others might be warned not to believe him. Whereupon suddenly crying out, that *Justus* himself was seduced and become an Impostor, they threw him down from the place where he stood: though bruised, he was not killed by the fall, but recovered so much strength, as to get upon his Knees, and pray to Heaven for them. Malice is of too bad a nature either to be pacified with kindness, or satisfied with cruelty: Jealousie is not more the rage of a Man, than Malice is the rage of the Devil, the very soul and spirit of the Apostate-nature. Little portions of revenge do but inflame it, and serve to flesh it up into a fiercer violence. Vexed that they had not done his work, they fell fresh upon the poor remainders of his life; and while he was yet at Prayer, and that a *Rechabite* who stood by (which says * *Epiphanius*, was *Symeon*, his Kinsman and Successor) stept in and entreated them to spare him, a just and a righteous Man, and who was then praying for them, they began to load him with a shower of stones, till one more mercifully cruel than the rest with a Fuller's Club beat out his Brains. Thus died this good Man in the XCVI. Year of his Age, and about XXIV. Years after *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven, (as *Epiphanius* tells us;) being taken away to the great grief and regret of all good Men, yea of all sober and just persons even amongst the Jews themselves; οὗτοι δ' ἐδόκουν ἐπικρίεσθαι τὸν πρῶτον καὶ πάλιν τῷ, ὃ ὡς τὸς ἱεροῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου, says * *Josephus* himself confesses, speaking of this matter. He was buried (says || *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*) upon *Mount Olivet*, in a Tomb which he had built for himself, and wherein he had buried *Zacharias*, and old *Symeon*: which I am rather inclinable to believe, than what * *Hegeffippus* reports, that he was buried near the Temple in the place of his Martyrdom, and that a Monument was there erected for him, which remained a long time after: For the Jews were not ordinarily wont to bury within the City, much less so near the Temple; and least of all would they suffer him, whom as a Blasphemer and Impostor they had so lately put to Death.

6. HE was a Man of exemplary and extraordinary piety and devotion, educated under the strictest Rules and Institutions of Religion, a Priest (as we may probably guess) of the ancient Order of the *Rechabites*; or rather as || *Epiphanius* conjectures, καὶ παλαιὸν ἐρωτύλιον, according to the most ancient order and form of Priesthood, when the Sacerdotal Office was the Prerogative of the first-born: and such was S. James the Eldest Son of *Joseph*, and thereby sanctified and set apart for it. Though whether this way of Priesthood at any time held under the *Mosaic* dispensation, we have no intimations in the holy story. But however he came by it, upon some such account

* *Josephus* Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 8. p. 698.

Hegeffip. Comment. lib. 5. apud Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 64.

* *Hegef. 78. p. 441.*

Epiph. ibid.

* *Antiquit. Jud. lib. 20. c. 8. p. 698. || De glor. Mart. lib. 1. c. 27. p. 33. * Ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 65.*

|| *Contr. Nazar. Hæf. XXIX. p. 56.*

account it must be that he had a privilege (which the Ancients say was peculiar to him, probably, because more frequently made use of by him than by any others) to enter *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον*, not into the *Sancta Sanctorum*, or *most holy of all*, but the *Sanctuary*, or *holy place*, whither the Priests of the *Aaronical Order* might come. Prayer was his constant business and delight; he seemed to live upon it, and to trade in nothing but the frequent returns of converse with Heaven: and was therefore wont to retire alone into the Temple to pray, which he always performed *kneeling*, and with the greatest reverence, till by his daily Devotions his *Knees* were become as *hard* and brawny as a *Camel's*. And he who has told us, that *effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much*, himself found it true by his own experience, Heaven lending a more immediate Ear to his Petitions; so that when in a time of great drought he prayed for Rain, the Heavens presently melted into fruitful showers. Nor was his Charity towards Men less than his Piety towards God; he did good to all, watched over Men's souls, and studied to advance their eternal interests; his daily errand into the Temple was to pray for the happiness of the People, and that God would not severely reckon with them: he could forgive his fiercest enemies, and *overcome evil with good*: when thrown from the top of the Temple, he made use of all the breath he had left in him, only to send up this Petition to Heaven for the pardon of his Murtherers, *I beseech thee, O Lord God, Heavenly Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

|| Hegesip. apud Euseb. loc. laudat. p. 63. Epiph. ibid.

Jam. 5. 17. Epiph. Hæres. LXXXVIII. p. 441.

7. HE was of a most meek humble temper, honouring what was excellent in others, concealing what was valuable in himself: the eminency of his relation, and the dignity of his Place did not exalt him in lofty thoughts above the measures of his Brethren, industriously hiding whatever might set him up above the rest. Though he was our *Lord's Brother*, yet in the Inscription of his Epistle he styles himself but the *Servant of the Lord Jesus*, not so much as giving himself the Title of an Apostle. His Temperance was admirable, he wholly abstained from Flesh, and drank neither Wine nor strong Drink, nor ever used the Bath. His holy and mortified mind was content with the meanest accommodations, he went bare-foot, and never wore other than Linen Garments. Indeed he lived after the strictest rules of the *Nazarite Order*; and as the *Miter*, or *Sacerdotal Plate*, (*τὸ πέπλον* the * Ancients call it) which he wore upon his Head, evinced his Priesthood, which was rather after *Melchisedeck's*, or the Priesthood of the *first-born*, than the *Aaronical Order*; so his never shaving his Head, nor using Unguents, his Habit and Diet, and the great severity of his Life, shewed him to appertain to the *Nazarite Institution*, to which he was holy (says *Hegesippus*) or consecrated from his Mother's Womb. A Man of that Divine temper, that he was the love and wonder of his Age; and for the reputation of his holy and religious Life was universally styled, *James the Just*. Indeed the safety and happiness of the Nation was reckoned to depend upon his Prayers and interest in Heaven, which gained him the honourable Title of *Oblis* or *Ozliam*, the *defence* and *fortress of the people*; as if when he was gone, their Garisons would be dismantled, and their strength laid level with the ground. And so we find it was, when some few Years after his Death the *Roman Army* broke in upon them, and turned all into blood and ruine. As what wonder if the Judgments of God like a Flood come rowling in upon a Nation, when the Sluces are plucked up, and the *Moses* taken away that before stood in the Gap to keep them out? *Elisha died, and a Band of the Moabites invaded the Land*. In short, he was the delight of all good Men, in so much favour and estimation with the People, that they used to flock after * him, and strive who should touch, though it were but the hem of his Garment; his very Episcopal Chair, wherein he used to sit, being (as || *Eusebius* informs us) carefully preserved, and having a kind of veneration paid to it, even unto his time: loved and honoured not by his Friends only, but by his Enemies; the * *Jews* in their *Talmud* mentioning *James* as a worker of Miracles in the Name of *Jesus his Master*; yea, the || wisest of them looked upon his Martyrdom as the inlet to all those miseries and calamities that soon after flowed in upon them. Sure I am that * *Josephus* particularly reckons the Death of this S. *James*, as that which more immediately alarm'd the Divine Vengeance, and hastned the universal ruine and destruction of that Nation.

Διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὀβλίαν ὁ ὄντων ἐλλήνων τετιοχητὸν τὸ λαῶν, καὶ δικαιοσύνην. Hunc Hegesippi locum feliciter sane emendat et restituit N. Fullerus noster. Διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐκαλεῖτο Σαδδίκ, καὶ Ὀζλίαν, ὁ ὄντων ἐλλήνων, Δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τιμωχὴν τὸ λαῶν. Miscellan. Sacr. lib. 3. c. 1.

* Epiph. Hæres. XXIX. p. 56. ex Clem. Al. et Euseb. Hæres. LXXXVIII. p. 441.

2 King. 13. 20.

* Hieron. Com. in c. 1. ad Gal. p. 165. T. 9. || H. Eccl. lib. 7 c. 19. p. 295.

* Vid. supr. num. 3. || Euseb. l. 2. c. 23. p. 65.

* Verba ejus cit. Euseb. loc. laudat.

8. HE wrote only one Epistle, probably not long before his Martyrdom, as appears by some passages in it relating to the near approaching ruine of the *Jewish Nation*. He directed it to the *Jewish Converts*, dispersed up and down those *Eastern Countries*, to comfort them under Sufferings, and confirm them against Errour. He saw a great degeneracy

degeneracy and declension of manners coming on, and that the purity of the *Christian* Faith began to be undermined by the loose Doctrines and Practices of the *Gnosticks*, who under a pretence of zeal for the legal rites, generally mixt themselves with the *Jews*: he beheld Libertinism marching on apace, and the way to Heaven made soft and easie; Men declaiming against good works, as useless and unnecessary; and asserting a naked belief of the Christian Doctrine to be sufficient to salvation. Against these the Apostle opposes himself, presses Purity, Patience and Charity, and all the Vertues of a good Life; and by undeniable Arguments evinces, that that Faith only that carries along with it Obedience and an holy life, can justify us before God, and entitle us to eternal Life. Besides this Epistle, there is a kind of preparatory Gospel ascribed to him, published under the Name of ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, (still extant at this Day) containing the descent, birth and first Originals of *Christ*, and the Virgin *Mary*; at the end whereof the Author pretends to have written it at a time, when *Herod* having raised a great tumult in *Jerusalem*, he was forced to retire into the Wilderiness. But though in many things consistent enough with the History of the Gospel, yet has it ever been rejected as spurious and *Apocryphal*, forged in that licentious Age, when Men took the boldness to stamp any Writing with the Name of an Apostle.

The End of the Life of S. James the Less.

THE LIFE

OF

S. SIMON the Zealot.

S. SIMON



S. Simon Zelotes preached in Egypt, Africa and Britaine and at length was crucified. Niceph. l. 2. c. 16. Baron. Oct. 28.

S. Simon's Martyrdom.



Matth. 10. 16. Behold I send you forth as sheeping midst of wolvs.
1. Cor. 4. 9. God hath set forth vs & Apostles last as it were men appointed to death. For we are made a spectacle to the world, and to Angels, and to men.

His Kindred. Whence styled the Canaanite, and the Zealot. An enquiry into the nature and temper, and original of the Sect of the Zealots among the Jews. An account of their wild and licentious Practices. This no reflection upon our Apostle. In what parts of the World he preached the Gospel. His planting Christianity in Africk. His removal into the West, and Preaching in Britain. His Martyrdom there. By whom said to have preached and suffered in Persia. The difference between him and Symeon Bishop of Jerusalem.

S AINT Simon the Apostle was, as some think, one of the four Brothers of our Saviour, Sons of Joseph by his former marriage, though no other evidence appear for it, but that there was a Simon one of the number; too infirm a foundation to build any thing more upon than a mere conjecture. In the Catalogue of the Apostles he is styled *Simon the Canaanite*; whence some, led by no other reason that I know of than the bare sound of the name, have concluded him born at Cana in Galilee; as for the same reason * others have made him the Bridegroom, at whose marriage our Lord was there present, when he honoured the solemnity with his first Miracle, turning Water into Wine. But this word has no relation to his Country, or the place from whence he borrowed his Original, as plainly descending from

Matth. 10. 4.
Mark 3. 18.

* Niceph. H.
Eccl. lib. 8. c. 30.
p. 596.

Luke 6. 15. **Zeal** or **Zealot** which signifie *Zeal*, and denote a hot and sprightly temper. There-
 Acts 1. 13. fore what some of the Evangelists call *Canaanite*, others rendring the *Hebrew* by the
 * Zηλωτής δια- Greek word, style *Simon Zelotes*, or the *Zealot*: So called, not (as * *Nicephorus* thinks)
 δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ- from his burning zeal, and ardent affection to his Master, and his eager desire to
 πύρεον ζήλον, advance his Religion in the World; but from his warm active temper, and zealous
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πα- forwardness in some particular way and profession of Religion before his coming to
 λικῆς πολεμῆ- our Saviour.
 ας ἀκρίβειαν
 ὀνόμαστο.

2. FOR the better understanding of this we are to know, that as there were seve-
 H. Eccl. lib. 2. ral Sects, and Parties among the *Jews*, so was there one, either a distinct Sect, or at
 c. 40. p. 202. least a branch of the *Pharisees*, called the Sect of the *Zealots*: They were mighty
 † Ζηλωτῶν, assertors of the honour of the Law, and the strictness and purity of Religion, assuming
 αὐτοῖς ἰσχυροῦς a liberty to themselves to question notorious offenders, without staying for the ordi-
 εἰ τὰ νόμους φυ- nary formalities of Law; nay, when they thought good, and when the case required,
 λακες, Suid. in voc. Ζηλωταί. executing capital vengeance upon them. Thus when a Blasphemer cursed God by the
 * De Idol. c. 2. name of any Idol (says * *Maimonides*) the **Zealots** that next met him might
 Sect. 12. p. 19. immediately kill him, without ever bringing him **לפניו** before the *Sanhedrim*.
 They looked upon themselves as the Successors of *Phineas*, who in a mighty passion
 Psal. 106. 30. for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon *Zimri* and *Cozbi*. An act which
 Num. 25. 11. -- was counted to him for righteousness unto all posterities for evermore; and God so well
 13. pleased with it, that he made with him and his seed after him the covenant of an ever-
 lasting Priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Israel.
 In imitation whereof these men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary
 cases, and that not only by the connivence, but with the leave both of the Rulers and
 the People; till in after times under a pretence of this, their zeal degenerated into all
 manner of licentiousness and wild extravagance, and they not only became the pests
 of the common-wealth at home, but opened the door for the *Romans* to break in upon
 them, to their final and irrecoverable ruine; they were continually prompting the
 People to throw off the *Roman* yolk, and vindicate themselves into their native
 liberty; and when they had turned all things into hurry and confusion, themselves in
 the mean while fished in these troubled waters. *Josephus* gives a large account of them,
 and every-where bewails them as the great plague of the Nation. He tells us of || them,
 that they scrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime of Nobility, under pre-
 tence of holding correspondence with the *Romans*, and betraying the liberty of their
 Country; openly glorying, that herein they were the Benefactors and Saviours of the
 People. They abrogated the succession of ancient Families, thrusting obscure and
 ignoble Persons into the High-priest's Office, that so they might oblige the most
 infamous Villains to their party; and as if not content to injure Men, they affronted
 Heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the Divinity it self, breaking into and profaning
 the most holy place. Styling themselves *Zealots* (says he) as if their undertakings were
 good and honourable, while they were greedy and emulous of the greatest wickednesses,
 and out-did the worst of men. Many attempts were made, especially by *Annas* the
 High-priest, to reduce them to order and sobriety. But neither force of arms, nor fair and
 gentle methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their
 violent proceedings, and joyning with the *Idumeans*, committed all manner of out-
 rage, slaying the High-priests themselves. Nay, when *Jerusalem* was straitly besieged
 by the *Roman* Army, they ceased not to create tumults and factions within, and were
 indeed the main cause of the *Jews* ill success in that fatal War. 'Tis probable, that all
 that went under the notion of this Sect were not of this wretched and ungovernable
 temper, but that some of them were of a better make, of a more sober and peaceable
 disposition: And as it is not to be doubted, but that our *Simon* was of this Sect in
 general, so there's reason to believe he was of the better sort. However this makes no
 more reflection upon his being called to the Apostleship, than it did for *S. Matthew*, who
 was before a *Publican*, or *S. Paul's* being a *Pharisee*, and so zealously persecuting the
 Church of God.

3. BEING invested in the Apostolical Office, no farther mention appears of him
 in the History of the Gospel. Continuing with the Apostles till their dispersion up and
 down the World, he then applied himself to the execution of his charge. He is * said
 * Niceph. loc. supra laudat. to have directed his journey towards *Egypt*, thence to *Cyrene*, and *Africk* (this indeed
 || Ad Ann. 44. * Baronius is not willing to believe, being desirous that *S. Peter* should have the
 38. honour to be the first that planted Christianity in *Africk*) and throughout *Mauritania*
 and all *Libya*, preaching the Gospel to those remote and barbarous Countries. Nor
 could the coldness of the Climate benumb his zeal, or hinder him from shipping him-
 self

self and the Christian Doctrine over to the *Western* Islands, yea, even to *Britain* it self. Here he preached, and wrought many miracles; and after infinite troubles and difficulties which he underwent (if we may believe our Authors, whom, though *Baronius* *ubi supra*. in this case makes no great account of, yet never scruples freely to use their verdict and suffrage when they give in evidence to his purpose) suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Christ*, as is not only affirmed by **Nicephorus* and || *Dorotheus*, but expressly * *Niceph. ibi.* owned in the *Greek* * *Menologies*; where we are told, that he went at last into *Britain*, || *Doroth. in* and having enlightned the minds of many with the Doctrine of the Gospel, was cruci- *Synopf. de vit.* fied by the *Infidels*, and buried there. *App. p. 148.*

μεν, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν λόγων τῆς εὐαγγελίας φησὶσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων σαυρωθεὶς καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκεῖ. *Menolog. Græc. ad diem X. Maii.*

4. I KNOW indeed, that there want not those who tell * us, that after his preach- * *Vid. Breviar.* ing the Gospel in *Egypt*, he went into *Mesopotamia*, where he met with S. *Jude* the *Roman. ad diem* Apostle, and together with him took his journey into *Persia*, where having gained a *28. Octobr. &* considerable harvest to the *Christian* Faith, they were both crowned with Martyr- *Martyrol. Rom. ad eund. diem,* dom; which *Baronius* himself confesses to be founded on no better authority, than *& Baron. Not. ibid. vid. illum* the *Passions of the Apostles*, a Book which at every turn he rejects as trifling and imper- *ad Ann. 68. n. 7* tinent, as false and fabulous. But however, wide is the mistake of || those who con- || *Sophron. apud* found our Apostle with *Symeon* the son of *Cleophas*, Successor to S. *James* the *Just* in the *Hieron. de* See of *Jerusalem*, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his Age, in *Script. Eccl. in* the persecution under *Trajan*: The different character of their persons, and the *Simone.* account both of their Acts and Martyrdoms being sufficiently distinguished in the *Isidor. de vit.* Writings of the Church. *& obit. SS. utri- usque T. cap. 83.*

The End of S. Simon's Life.

himself and the Christian Doctrine over to the Hesperian Islands, yet, even to Britain it fell. Here he preached, and wrought many miracles; and after infinite troubles and distresses, which he underwent (it we may believe our Authors, whom, though Barrow in this case makes no great account of, yet never scruples freely to cite their words) and fatigue when they give in evidence to his purpose, suffered martyrdom for the Faith of Christ, as is not only affirmed by * Nicodemus and * Dorcas, but expressly owned in the Greek * Martyr; where we are told, that he went at last into Britain, and having enlightened the minds of many with the Doctrine of the Gospel, was crucified by the Jews, and buried there.

4. I have indeed, that there were not those who tell * as after his death, for the Gospel in Egypt he went into Memphis, where he met with St. Paul the Apostle, and together with him took his journey into Persia, where having gained a considerable harvest to the Christian Faith, they were both crowned with Martyrdom; which Barrow himself confesses to be founded on no better authority, than the * Book of the Apostles, a Book which in every part he treats as trifling and false, as false and fabulous. But however, wide is the mistake of those who count our Apostles with Symeon the son of Cleopas, successor to St. James the just in the seat of Jerusalem, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his Age, in the persecution under Trajan: The different character of their persons, and the different birth of their Acts and Martyrdom being manifestly distinguished in the Writings of the Church.

The End of St. Simon's Life.

THE LIFE OF S. JUDE.

St. Jude.



Matth. 13. 55. Is not this the Carpenter's son, are not his brethren James, & Joseph, & Simon, & JUDAS?
Juk. 6. 16. Judas the Brother of James.

His Martyrdom.



Having preached the Gospel in Mesopotamia, he went into Persia, where after he had gained great numbers to Christianity, he suffered martyrdom. Martyrol. Rom. Oct. 20.

The several Names attributed to him in the Gospel. Thaddeus, whence. The custom of the Jews to alter their Names, when bearing affinity with the great Name Jehovah. The name Judas why distastful to the Apostles. Lebbaeus, whence derived? His Parentage, and Relation to our Lord. The Question put by him to Christ. Whether the same with Thaddeus sent to Edessa. In what places he Preached. His Death. His Married condition. The Story of his Grandchildren brought before Domitian. His Epistle, and why questioned of old. Its Canonicalness vindicated. The Book of Enoch, and what its Authority. The Contention between Michael and the Devil about Moses his Body, whence borrowed. S. Jude proved to be the Author of this Epistle. Grotius his conceit of its being written by a younger Jude, rejected. Its Affinity with the Second Epistle of S. Peter. The Design of it.

THERE are three several Names by which this Apostle is described in the History of the Gospel, *Jude*, *Thaddeus* and *Lebbaeus*, it being usual in the holy Volumes for the same person to have more proper Names than one. For the first, it was a name common amongst the Jews, recommended to them as being the name of one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation. This name he seems to have changed afterwards for *Thaddeus*, a word springing from the same root, and of the

the very same import and signification, which might arise from a double cause: Partly from the superstitious veneration, which the Jews had for the name *Jehova* (the *Nomen τετραγράμματον* or name consisting of four letters) which they held unlawful to be pronounced by any but the High-priest; and not by him neither, but at the most solemn times. Hence it was, that when any Man had a name, wherein there was the major part of the letters of this ineffable title (and such was *Jehuda* or *Juda*) they would not rashly pronounce it in common usage, but chose rather to mould it into another like it, and of the same importance, or that which had a near affinity and resemblance with it: Partly from a particular dislike of the name of *Judas* among the Apostles, the bloody and treasonable practices of *Judas Iscariot* having rendered that name very odious and detestable to them. To prevent therefore all possibility of mistake, and that they might not confound the righteous with the wicked, S. Matthew and Mark never call him by this, but by some other name, as no question for the same reason he both styles himself, and is frequently called by others, *Judas the Brother of James*; and that this was one great design of it, the Evangelist plainly intimates, when speaking of him, he says, *Judas not Iscariot*. For his name *Lebbæus*, it seems to have been derived either from לבב an Heart, whence S. Hierom renders it *Corculum*, probably to denote his wisdom and prudence; or else from לבא a Lion, and therein to have respect to old Jacob's prophecy concerning Judah, *That he should be as a Lion, an old Lion, and as a Lion's whelp*; which probably might have a main stroke in fastning this name upon S. Jude. From this Patriarchal prophecy, we are *told, that one of the Schools or Synagogues of Learned Men among the Jews (who to avoid confusion were wont to distinguish themselves by different appellations) took occasion to denominate themselves *Labii*, as accounting themselves the Scholars and descendents of this *Lion-like Son of Jacob*; and that S. Jude was of this Society, and because of his eminency among them retained the title of *Labius*, or as it was corruptly pronounced, *Lebbæus*. I confess I should have thought the conjecture of a Learned † man very probable, that he might have derived this name from the place of his nativity, as being born at *Lebba*, a Town which, he tells us, ‖ *Pliny* speaks of in the Province of *Galilee*, not far from *Carmel*; but that it is not *Lebba*, but *Jebba* in all Copies of *Pliny* that I have seen. But let the Reader please himself in which conjecture he likes best.

John 14. 22.

* Bolduc. de
Ecc. post leg.
cap. 7. p. 47, 48.

† Lightf. H.
Hebr. in Matth.
p. 147.
‖ Hist. Nat.
lib. 5. c. 19.

* H. Ecc. lib. 2.
c. 40. p. 202.
Matth. 13. 55.
Animadv. in
Euseb. Chron.
ad Num.
MMCXII.
p. 205.

John 14. 22.

* H. Ecc. lib. 1.
c. 13. p. 32.

‖ Comment. in
Matth. c. 10.

2. FOR his Descent and Parentage, he was of our Lord's Kindred, * *Nicephorus* truly making him the Son of *Joseph*, and Brother to *James Bishop of Jerusalem*; that there was a *Jude* one of the number is very evident, are not his Brethren *James*, and *Joses*, and *Simon*, and *Judas*? which makes me the more to wonder at *Scaliger*, who so confidently denies that any of the Evangelists ever mention a *Jude the Brother of our Lord*. S. Hierom seems often to confound him with *Simon the Zealot*, whose title he ascribes to him; though second thoughts set him right, as indeed common advertency could do no less, so plain is the Account which the Evangelists give of this matter. When called to the Discipleship we find not, as not meeting with him, till we find him enumerated in the Catalogue of Apostles; nor is any thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one Question that he propounded to our Saviour, who having told them what great things he and his Father would do, and what particular manifestations after his Resurrection he would make of himself to his sincere disciples and followers, S. Jude (whose thoughts as well as the rest were taken up with the expectations of a temporal Kingdom of the *Messiah*) not knowing how this could consist with the publick solemnity of that glorious state they looked for, asked him, what was the reason that he would manifest himself to them, and not to the world. Our Lord replied, that the world was not capable of these divine manifestations, as being a stranger and an enemy to what should fit them for fellowship with Heaven; that they were only good Men, persons of a Divine temper of mind, and religious observers of his Laws and Will, whom God would honour with these familiar converses, and admit to such particular Acts of grace and favour.

3. * *EUSEBIUS* relates, that soon after our Lord's Ascension S. Thomas dispatched *Thaddæus* the Apostle to *Abgarus* Governour of *Edeffa*, where he healed diseases, wrought miracles, expounded the doctrines of Christianity and converted *Abgarus* and his people to the Faith: For all which pains when the *Toparch* offered him vast gifts and presents, he refused them with a noble scorn, telling him, they had little reason to receive from others, what they had freely relinquished and left themselves. A large account of this whole affair is extant in *Eusebius*, translated by him out of *Syriack* from the Records of the City of *Edeffa*. This *Thaddæus* ‖ S. Hierom expressly makes to be our S. Jude, though his bare authority is not in this case sufficient evidence; especially since

since *Eusebius* makes him no more than one of the seventy Disciples, which he would scarce have done, had he been one of the *Twelve*. He calls him indeed an *Apostle*, but that may imply no more than according to the large acception of the word, that he was a Disciple, a Companion, and an Assistant to them, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any thing more common in ancient Ecclesiastick Writers, than for the first planters and propagators of Christian Religion in any Country to be honoured with the name and title of Apostles. But however this be, at his first setting out to preach the Gospel, he went up and down *Judæa* and *Galilee*, then through *Samaria* into *Idumea*, and to the Cities of *Arabia*, and the neighbour Countries, and after to *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. * *Nicephorus* adds, that he came at last to *Edeffa*, where *Ab-garius* was Governour; and where the other *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy had been before him. Here he perfected what the other had begun, and having by his Sermons and Miracles established the Religion of our Saviour, died a peaceable and a quiet death; though || *Dorotheus* makes him slain at *Berytus*, and honourably buried there. By the almost general consent of the Writers of the *Latin Church* he is said to have travelled into *Persia*, where after great success in his Apostolical Ministry for many years, he was at last for his free and open reproving the superstitious rites and usages of the *Magi* cruelly put to death.

* *Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 40. p. 202.*

† *Synops. de vit. & mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.*

4. THAT he was one of the married Apostles sufficiently appears from his *usurp*, or *Grandsons* mentioned by * *Eusebius*, of whom *Hegeffippus* gives this account. *Domitian* the Emperour, whose enormous wickednesses had awakened in him the quickest jealousies, and made him suspect every one that might look like a corival in the Empire, had heard that there were some of the line of *David*, and *Christ's* kindred that did yet remain. Two Grandchildren of S. *Jude* the Brother of our Lord were brought before him: Having confessed that they were of the race and posterity of *David*, he asked what possessions and estate they had; they told him that they had but a very few acres of Land, out of the improvement whereof they both paid him Tribute, and maintained themselves with their own hard labour, as by the hardness and callousness of their hands (which they then shewed him) did appear. He then enquired of them concerning *Christ*, and the state of his Kingdom, what kind of Empire it was, and when and where it would commence: To which they replied, That his Kingdom was not of this world, nor of the Seigniories and Dominions of it, but Heavenly and Angelical; and would finally take place in the end of the World; when coming with great glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and award all Men recompences according to their works. The issue was, that looking upon the meanness and simplicity of the Men, as below his jealousies and fears, he dismissed them without any severity used against them; who being now beheld not only as Kinsmen, but as Martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to places of authority and government in the Church, and lived till the times of *Trajan*.

* *Apud Euseb. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 89.*

5. S. *JUDE* left only one Epistle, of catholick and universal concernment, inscribed at large to all Christians. It was some time before it met with general reception in the † Church, or was taken notice of. The Author indeed styles not himself an Apostle, but no more does S. *James*, S. *John*, nor sometimes S. *Paul* himself. And why should he fare the worse for his humility, only for calling himself the servant of *Christ*, when he might have added not only *Apostle*, but the Brother of our Lord? The best is, he has added what was equivalent, *Jude the Brother of James*, a character that can belong to none but our Apostle; beside, that the Title of the Epistle, which is of great Antiquity, runs thus, *The general Epistle of Jude the Apostle*. One great Argument, as S. || *Hierom* informs us, against the authority of this Epistle of old, was its quoting a passage out of an *Apocryphal Book of Enoch*. This Book called the *Apocalypse of Enoch* was very early extant in the Church, frequently mentioned, and passages cited out of it by *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and others, some of whom accounted it little less than *Canonical*. But what if our Apostle had it not out of this *Apocryphal Book*, but from some prophecy current from age to age, handed to him by common tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the Spirit of God? But suppose it taken out of that Book going under *Enoch's* name, this makes nothing against the authority of the Epistle; every thing, I hope, is not presently false, that's contained in an *Apocryphal* and *Uncanonical* writing; nor does the taking a single testimony out of it any more infer the Apostle's approbation of all the

† *Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 66. & lib. 3. c. 25.*

|| *De Script. Eccl. in Juda.*

Scio Scripturam Enoch, quæ hunc ordinem Angelis dedit, non recipi à quibusdam, quia nec in Armarium Judaicum admittitur. Opinor non putaverunt illam ante Cataclysmum editam, post ei in casum Orbis omnium rerum abolitorem, saluam esse potuisse. Si ista ratio est, recordentur, &c. Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino prædicavit, à nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertineat ad nos. A Judæis potest jam videri propterea rejecta, sicut & cetera fere quæ Christum sonant. Eo accedit quod Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium possidet. Tertull. de Cult. Fæmin. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 151.

Vid. Hieron. Comment. in Tit. c. 1. p. 249. T. 9.

rest,

rest, than S. Paul's quoting a good sentence or two out of *Menander*, *Aratus*, and *Epinetides*, imply that he approved all the rest of the Writings of those Heathen Poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this way, if we consider that the Apostle in this Epistle chiefly argues against the *Gnosticks*, who mainly traded in such Traditionary and Apocryphal writings, and probably in this very Book of *Enoch*. The same account may be given of that other passage in this Epistle concerning the contention between *Michael* the *Archangel* and the Devil about the burial of *Moses* his Body, no where extant in the holy Records, supposed to have been taken out of a Jewish writing

De quo in Ascensione Moyfi (cujus libelli meminit in Epistola Apollolus Judas) Michael Archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de Corpore Moyfi, ait Diabolo, Inspiratum serpentem causam extitisse praevaricationis Adae & Eve. Origin. *de* Agg. *lib. c. 2. fol. 142. p. 2.*

Plurimi erant alii libri antiquitus sub nomine Moyfi confecti, & in his liber dictus *Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσεως*, memoratus Athan. in Synops. S. Script. Tom. 2. p. 134. confer quae ex hoc libro habet Clem. Alexandr. *Stromat. l. 6. p. 679, 680.*

called *פְּסִירָא מֹשֶׁה* or the *Dismission of Moses*, mentioned by some of the Greek Fathers under the title of *Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσεως*, or the *Ascension of Moses*, in which this passage was upon record. Nor is it any more a wonder, that S. Jude should do this, than that S. Paul should put down *Jannes* and *Jambres* for the two *Magicians* of *Pharaoh* that opposed *Moses*, which he must either derive from Tradition, or fetch out of some Uncanonical Author of those times, there being no mention of their names in *Moses* his relation of that matter. But be

these passages whence they will, 'tis enough to us, that the Spirit of God has made them Authentick, and consecrated them part of the holy Canon.

* Annot. in itin. Epist. Jud.

6. BEING thus satisfied in the Canonicalness of this Epistle, none but S. Jude could be the Author of it; for who but he was the Brother of S. James? a character by which he is described in the Evangelical story more than once. * *Grotius* indeed will needs have it written by a younger Jude, the fifteenth Bishop of Jerusalem, in the reign of *Adrian*; and because he saw that that passage [the Brother of James] stood full in his way, he concludes without any shadow of reason, that it was added by some Transcriber. But is not this to make too bold with Sacred things? is not this to indulge too great a liberty? this once allowed, 'twill soon open a door to the wildest and most extravagant conjectures, and no Man shall know where to find sure-footing for his Faith. But the Reader may remember, what we have elsewhere observed concerning the Posthume Annotations of that learned Man. Not to say that there are many things in this Epistle that evidently refer to the time of this Apostle, and imply it to have been written upon the same occasion, and about the same time with the second Epistle of *Peter*, between which and this there is a very great affinity both in words and matter, nay, there want not || some that endeavour to prove this Epistle to have been written no less than twenty-seven years before that of *Peter*; and that hence it was that *Peter* borrowed those passages that are so near a-kin to those in this Epistle. The design of the Epistle is to preserve Christians from the infection of *Gnosticism*, the loose and debauched principles vented by *Simon Magnus* and his followers, whose wretched doctrines and practices he briefly and elegantly represents, persuading Christians heartily to contend for the Faith that had been delivered to them; and to avoid these pernicious Seducers as Pests and Fire-brands, not to communicate with them in their sins, lest they perished with them in that terrible vengeance that was ready to take over them.

|| Bolduc. præ- lud. in Epist. Jud. p. 106. ad calcem lib. de Eccl. post leg.

The End of S. Jude's Life.

THE LIFE OF S. MATTHIAS.

S. MATTHIAS.



He preached the Gospel in Ethiopia, suffered Martyrdom and was buried there. S. Hieron.

St. Matthias his Martyrdom.



Hebr. ii. 37. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder: they were tempted, were slain with the sword.

S. Matthias one of the Seventy. Judas Iscariot, whence. A bad Minister nulls not the ends of his Ministration. His worldly and covetous temper. His monstrous ingratitude. His betraying his Master, and the aggravations of the sin. The distraction and horreur of his mind. The miserable state of an evil and guilty Conscience. His violent death. The election of a new Apostle: The Candidates, who. The Lot cast upon Matthias. His preaching the Gospel, and in what part of the World. His Martyrdom when, where, and how. His Body whither translated. The Gospel and Traditions vented under his name.

I. SAINT Matthias not being an Apostle of the first Election, immediately called and chosen by our Saviour, particular remarks concerning him are not to be expected in the History of the Gospel. He was one of our Lord's Disciples (and probably one of the Seventy) that had attended on him the whole time of his publick Ministry, and after his death was elected into the Apostleship upon this occasion. Judas Iscariot (so called, probably from the place of his nativity, איש קריית *a man of Keiroth*, a City antiently situate in the Tribe of Judah) had been one of the Twelve, immediately called by Christ to be one of his intimate Disciples, equally impowered and commissioned with the rest to preach and work Miracles, was numbred with them,

and had obtained part of their Ministry. And yet all this while was a Man of vile and corrupt design, branded with no meaner a character, than *Thief* and *Murderer*. To let us see that there may be bad Servants in *Christ's* own Family, and that the wickedness of a Minister does not evacuate his Commission, nor render his Office useless and ineffectual. The unworthiness of the instrument hinders not the ends of the ministration: Seeing the efficacy of an ordinance depends not upon the quality of the Person, but the divine institution, and the blessing which God has entailed upon it. *Judas* preached *Christ* no doubt with zeal and fervency, and for any thing we know, with as much success as the rest of the Apostles; and yet he was a bad Man, a Man acted by sordid and mean designs, one that had prostituted Religion and the honour of his place to covetousness and evil arts. The love of Money had so entirely possessed his thoughts, that his resolutions were bound for nothing but interest and advantage. *But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare.* This covetous temper betrayed him, as in the issue to the most fatal end, so to the most desperate attempt, ἀγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπο-σώπαπιν, as *Origen* calls the putting *Christ* to death, the most prodigious impiety that the Sun ever shone on, the betraying his innocent Lord into the hands of those, who he knew would treat him with all the circumstances of insolent scorn and cruelty. How little does kindness work upon an disingenuous mind! It was not the honour of the place, to which when thousands of others were passed by, our Lord had called him, the admitting him into a free and intimate fellowship with his person, the taking him to be one of his peculiar domesticks and attendants, that could divert the wretch from his wicked purpose. He knew how desirous the great men of the Nation were to get *Christ* into their hands, especially at the time of the Passover, that he might with the more publick disgrace be sacrificed before all the People, and therefore bargains with them, and for no greater a sum than under four pounds, to betray the *Lamb of God* into the paws of these Wolves and Lions: In short, he heads the party, conducts the Officers, and sees him delivered into their hands.

2. BUT there's an active principle in Man's breast, that seldom suffers daring Sinners to pass in quiet to their Graves: Awakened with the horror of the fact, Conscience began to rouse and follow close, and the Man was unable to bear up under the furious revenges of his own mind: As indeed all wilful and deliberate sins, and especially the guilt of blood, are wont more sensibly to alarm the natural notions of our minds, and to excite in us the fears of some present vengeance that will seize upon us. And how intolerable are those scourges that lash us in this vital and tender part? The spirit of the Man sinks under him, and all supports snap asunder: As what ease or comfort can he enjoy, that carries a *Vultur* in his bosom, always gnawing and prey-

* Τὸ μὲν σωμεν δὲ οἷον ἐλκεῖ ἐν σαρκὶ, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ μεταμέλειαν αἰμάσσουσιν αἰεὶ καὶ νύσσαν ἀπολείπει. Plut. de Anim. tranquil. p. 476. Ἀλλὰ τὰ δ' ἐκτελεῖν, αὐτὸς μὴ μετέπειθε ἀνίστησιν. Pythag. in aur. carm. in quem locum hæc inter alia Hierocles, optima, prorsus ex hoc loco satis approposita. Τί ὄφελος ἐμπορεύεται ἡ φρόνις, ἢ ἀλλὰ τισὶ κακοπραγίαις ληίσαντες χρημασίαι, καὶ πλεῖν τὰ ἔξω; καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὐκ ἀναιδέως ἔχειν, καὶ διὰ τὸ οὐ μάλλον ἐπιβλεῖν τὸ κακόν; ἢ εἰς αἰδέσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰς ἀνθρώπων ὥστε τὴν σωμὴν ἡσέως ἐλκεῖν, ὅσον εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ διαμένειν τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κολασίαι; καὶ μόνον ἵσταν εὐείσκειν τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι καταφυγὴν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς παύεται κακῶς τὸ κακὸν ἰδεῖν, φθορὰ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ κακίαν παρομυθεύει, καὶ τὴν μὲν θάνατον εὐδένειαν εἶναι καταφρονεῖς, οὐ γὰρ τὴν κείσεως πόνον; ἢ βλάπτει δὲ κακὸς ἀθάνατον; ἢ αὐτὸς ψυχῇ, ἵνα μὴ ἀπομείνῃ τι μωροῦμενος. Καὶ φθάνει τὸ ἐκεῖ δίκασθαι θάνατον εἶναι καταφρονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς τὸν τὸ πονηρὸν ψυχῇ μὴ εἶναι ἀλλ' ἐστὶ μὲν, ὡς ἀβουλία πρὸς κακίαν ὑπενεχθεῖς, ἐκβλήσας ἀμετρίαν τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ψῆφον ἐκφέρει. Hier. in Aur. Carm. p. 165.

† Job 9. 4.

The wrath of Man may be endured, but the irruptions of Conscience are irresistible; it is ὡς σωμεν δὲ ἀπαγγέλλει (as *Chrysostom* very elegantly stiles it) to be *choaked* or strangled with an evil Conscience, which oft reduces the Man to such distresses, as to make him chuse death rather than life. A sad instance of all which we have in this unhappy Man: who being wearied with furious and melancholy reflections upon what was past, threw back the wages of iniquity in open Court, and dispatched himself, by a violent death: Vainly hoping to take sanctuary in the Grave, and that he should meet with that ease in another World which he could not find in this.

this. He departed, and went and hanged himself, and falling down burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out: Leaving a memorable warning to all treacherous and ingrateful, to all greedy and covetous Persons, not to let the World insinuate it self too far into them; and indeed to all, to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation. Our present state is slippery and insecure; Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. What Privileges can be a sufficient fence, a foundation firm enough to rely upon, when the Miracles, Sermons, Favours, and familiar Converses of Christ himself could not secure one of the Apostles from so fatal an Apostacy?

3. A VACANCY being thus made in the College of Apostles, the first thing they did after their return from Mount Olivet, where our Lord took his leave of them, to S. John's house in Mount Sion, (the place, if we may believe * Nicephorus, where the Church met together) was to fill up their number with a fit proper Person. To which purpose Peter acquainted them, that Judas, according to the prophetic prediction, being fallen from his ministry, it was necessary that another should be substituted in his room; one that had been a constant companion and disciple of the holy Jesus, and consequently capable of bearing witness to his life, death and resurrection. Two were propounded in order to the choice, Joseph called Barsabas, and Justus (whom some make the same with Jesus one of the brothers of our Lord) and Matthias, both duly qualified for the place. The way of election was by Lots, a way frequently used both among Jews and Gentiles for the determination of doubtful and difficult cases, and especially the chusing Judges and Magistrates: And this way was here taken (says one of the † Ancients) on purpose to comply with the old custom observed among the Jews, that in the election of an Apostle, they might not seem to depart from the way that had been used under the legal state, the Pseudo-Dionysius, || Author of the Ecclesiastick Hierarchy, together with his two * Paraphrasts, expressly says, that it was not a lot that was used in this case, to determine the matter; but διαρχὴν τε δαεον, or σύμβολον τε ἔξ ἀποκαλύψεως, some immediate and extraordinary sign from Heaven, falling upon the Candidate, and discovering him to be the person chosen by God. But this is directly contrary to the very words of the Sacred Story, which say, that they gave forth the lots, and that the lot fell upon Matthias. And this course the Apostles the rather took, because the Holy Ghost was not yet given, by whose immediate dictates and inspirations they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that the business might proceed with the greater regularity and success, they first solemnly make their address to Heaven, that the Omniscent Being that governed the World, and perfectly understood the tempers and dispositions of Men, would immediately guide and direct the choice, and shew which of these two he would appoint to take that part of the Apostolick charge, from which Judas was so lately fallen. The Lots being put into the Urn, Matthias his name was drawn out, and thereby the Apostolate devolved upon him.

4. NOT long after the promised powers of the Holy Ghost were conferred upon the Apostles, to fit them for that great and difficult employment, upon which they were sent; and among the rest S. Matthias betook himself to his Charge and Province. The first-fruits of his Ministry he spent in Judea, where having reaped a considerable harvest, he betook himself to other Provinces. An † Author, I confess, of no great credit in these matters, tells us, that he preached the Gospel in Macedonia, where the Gentiles to make an experiment of his Faith and Integrity, gave him a poisonous and intoxicating potion, which he cheerfully drunk off, in the name of Christ, without the least prejudice to himself; and that when the same potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their sight, he laying his hands upon them, restored them to their sight; with a great deal more of the same stamp, which I have neither faith enough to believe, nor leisure enough to relate. The Greeks with more probability report him to have travelled Eastward; he came (says || Nicephorus) into the first, (says * Sophronius) into the second Æthiopia, and in both, I believe, it is a mistake, either of the Author's or Transcriber's, for Cappadocia; his residence being principally near the irruption of the River Apfarus, and the Haven Hyffus, both places in Cappadocia. Nor is there any Æthiopia nearer those places than that conterminous to Chaldaea, whereof before. And as for those that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the Asian and African Æthiopia; and that both might be comprehended under that general name, as the Eastern and Western parts of the World were heretofore contained under the general title of the India's; it's a fancy without any other ground to stand on, than their own bare conjecture. The place whither he came was very barbarous, and his usage was accordingly. For here meeting with a People of a fierce and untractable temper, he was treated by them with great rudeness and inhumanity,

* H. Eccl. l. 2.
c. 1. p. 131.

† Ambros. in
Luc. c. 1. p. 11.

|| De Eccles. Hie-
rarch. c. 5. §. 5.

p. 367.
* Maxim. ib.
p. 376. Pachym.
p. 383.

* Εδωκεν καὶ
αὐτῷ ἐδῶκε-
το γὰρ τὸ πνεύ-
μα ἅγιον. Chry-
sost. in loc.

† Petr. de Natal.
Histor. Sanct.
lib. 3. c. 149.

|| H. Eccl. l. 2.
c. 30. p. 203.
* Ap. Hieron. de
Script. Eccl. in
Matthia.

from whom after all his labours and sufferings, and a numerous conversion of Men to Christianity, he obtained at last the crown of Martyrdom, *Ann. Chr. LXI.* or as others, *LXIV.* Little certainty can be retrieved concerning the manner of his death. † *Dorotheus* will have him to die at *Sebastople*, and to be buried there near the Temple of the *Sun.* An ancient || *Martyrology* reports him to have been seized by the *Jews*, and as a blasphemer to have been first stoned, and then beheaded. But

* Εξήλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα ἐπὶ βελχῶν.
Εἰσῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαθθίας ἐπὶ εὐλῶν.
Ἡρῶν ἀμὲν ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλῶν ἰούδα Μαθθίας.
Mæron Græcor. ad diem IX. August. apud
Bolland. de vit. SS. ad Febr. XXIV. Tom. 3.
p. 433.

the * *Greek Offices*, seconded herein by several ancient *Breviaries*, tell us that he was crucified; and that as *Judas* was hanged upon a Tree, so *Matthias* suffered upon a Cross. His Body is said to have been kept a long time at *Jerusalem*, thence thought, by *Helen* the Mother of the Great *Constantine*, to have been

translated to *Rome*, where some parts of it are shewed with great veneration at this day. Though * others with as great eagerness, and probably as much truth, contend that his Relicks were brought to, and are still preserved at *Triers* in *Germany*, a controversy wherein I shall not concern my self. His memory is celebrated in the *Greek Church August* the IX, as appears not only from their *Menologies*, but from a *Novel* † constitution of *Manuel Comnenus*, appointing what *holy days* should be kept in the Church; while the *Western Churches* kept *February XXIV.* sacred to his memory. Among many other *Apocryphal Writings* attributed to the Apostles, there was a *Gospel* published under his name, mentioned by || *Ensebins* and the Ancients, and condemned with the rest by * *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome*, as it had been rejected by others before him: Under his name also there were extant *Traditions*, cited by .: *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, from whence no question it was that the *Nicolaitans* borrowed that saying of his, which they abused to so vile and beastly purposes; as under the pretended patronage of his name and doctrines the *Marcionites* and :: *Valentinians* defended some of their most absurd and impious opinions.

* Vid. Chr.
Brower Annal.
Treuerens. lib. 2.
p. 658. & scrip-
tores ex utraq;
parte conten-
dentes ap. Boll.
loc. cit. p. 435.
† Extat in Jur.
Gr. Rom. lib. 2.
p. 161.
|| H. Eccl. l. 3.
c. 25. p. 97. Orig.
in Luc. Hom. 10.
Amb. pref. in
Luc. Tom. 5. p. 7.
* Decr. Part. 1.
Dist. 15. cap.
Sanct. Rom.
Sect. Caterum.
Strom lib. 2. p. 380. ibid. lib. 3. p. 436. :: Ibid. lib. 7. p. 765.

The End of S. Matthias's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. MARK the Evangelist.

The Evangelist S. Mark.



He having been the Coadjutor of S. Paul & S. Peter severally, at Alexandria planted & governed a Church and there by the violence of the Pagan multitude suffered Martyrdom. AD. 64. Baron. & Centur

S. Mark's Martyrdom.



Hebr. n. 35. Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.

Of whom the world was not worthy. —

His Kindred, and distinction from others of the same name. Whether one of the Seventy. **His Conversion**. **His Attendance upon Peter**, and Preaching the Gospel in Italy, and at Rome. **His Planting Christianity at Alexandria**, and great Success there. **An account of the Therapeutæ** (mentioned by Philo) and their excellent Manners, Rules, and way of Life. These proved not to have been Christians by several arguments. **The original of the mistake whence**. **S. Mark's Preaching in the Parts of Africk**. **His return to Alexandria**, and diligence in his Ministry. **The manner of his Martyrdom**. **The Time of it enquired into**. **The description of his Person**. **His Gospel, when and where written**, and why said to be Peter's. **His great impartiality in his Relations**. **In what Language written**. **The Original, whether extant at this Day**.

i. **SAINT Mark**, though carrying something of Roman in his Name, probably assumed by him upon some great change or accident of his Life, or which was not unusual among the Jews, when going into the European Provinces of the Roman Empire, taken up at his going for Italy and Rome, was doubtless born of Jewish Parents, originally descended of the Tribe of *Levi, and the Line of the Priesthood, and (if || Nicephorus say true) Peter's Son to Peter, though by others

* Hieron. pref.

in Marc. Tom. 9.

p. 87.

H. Eccl. l. 2.

c. 43. p. 209.

against

* Hæref. LI.
p. 186.

|| Apud Euseb.
l. 3. c. 39. p. 113.

* Petri discipu-
lus, & in bap-
tismate filius.
Ibid. de vit. &
ob. S. S. c. 84.
p. 542.

|| Naz. Orat.
25. p. 438.

* H. Eccl. lib. 2.
c. 16. p. 53.

|| De Scrip. Eccl.
in Philone.

* Phil. lib. de
vita contem-
plat. p. 891,
892. & seq.

against all reason confounded with *John* surnamed *Mark* the Son of *Mary*, and *Mark* Silters Son to *Barnabas*. By the Ancients he is generally thought to have been one of the Seventy Disciples, and * *Epiphanius* expressly tells us, that he was one of those who taking exception at our Lord's discourse of *eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood*, went back and walked no more with him; but was seasonably reduced and reclaimed by *Peter*. But no foundation appears either for the one or for the other; nay || *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who lived near those times, positively affirms that he was no hearer nor follower of our Saviour. He was converted by some of the Apostles, and probably by *S. Peter*, who is said to have been his undertaker at his Baptism (if I understand *Isidore* * aright) for no other reason I suppose, but because he calls him his Son. Indeed he was his constant attendant in his Travels, supplying the place of an *Amanuensis* and Interpreter; for though the Apostles were divinely inspired, and among other miraculous powers had the gift of Languages conferred upon them, yet was the interpretation of Tongues a gift more peculiar to some than others. This might probably be *S. Mark's* Talent in expounding *S. Peter's* Discourses, whether by word or writing, to those who understood not the Language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his Apostolical progress, preached the Gospel in || *Italy* and at *Rome*, where at the request of the Christians of those Parts he composed and wrote his Gospel.

2. BY *Peter* he was sent into *Egypt* to plant Christianity in those Parts, fixing his main residence at *Alexandria*, and the places thereabouts: where so great (says * *Eusebius*) was the success of his Ministry, that he converted Multitudes both of Men and Women, not only to the embracing of the Christian Religion, but to a more than ordinary strict profession of it, insomuch that *Philo* wrote a Book of their peculiar Rites and way of Life; the only reason why || *S. Hierom* reckons him among the Writers of the Church. Indeed *Philo* the Jew wrote a Book *ἡ βίβλος τῶν ὁριζήσεων*, extant at this day, wherein he speaks of a sort of Persons called *Οὐρανοῦται*, who in many Parts of the World, but especially in a pleasant place near the *Maræotick* Lake in *Egypt* had formed themselves into Religious Societies, and gives a large account of their Rites and Customs, their strict, philosophical, and contemplative course of Life. He tells * us of them, that when they first enter upon this way, they renounce all secular interests and employments, and leaving their Estates to their Relations, retire into Groves and Gardens, and places devoted to solitude and contemplation; that they had their Houses or Colleges, not contiguous, that so being free from noise and tumult, they might the better minister to the designs of a contemplative life; nor yet removed at too great a distance, that they might maintain mutual society, and be conveniently capable of helping and assisting one another. In each of these Houses there was an Oratory, call'd *Σεμνεῖον* and *Μοναστήριον* wherein they discharged the more secret and solemn Rites of their Religion; divided in the middle with a Partition-wall three or four Cubits high, the one apartment being for the Men, and the other for the Women: Here they publicly met every Seventh day, where being set according to their seniority, and having composed themselves with great decency and reverence, the most aged Person among them, and best skilled in the Dogmata and Principles of their Institution came forth into the midst, gravely and soberly discoursing what might make the deepest impression upon their minds; the rest attending with a profound silence, and only testifying their assent with the motion of their Eyes or Head. Their discourses were usually mystical and allegorical, seeking hidden senses under plain words; and of such an Allegorical Philosophy consisted the Books of their Religion, left them by their Ancestors: The Law they compared to an Animal, the Letter of it resembling the Body, while the Soul of it lay in those abstruse and recondite notions, which the external veil and surface of the words concealed from vulgar understandings. He tells us also, that they took very little care of the Body, perfecting their Minds by Precepts of Wisdom and Religion; the day they entirely spent in Pious and Divine Meditations, in reading and expounding the Law and the Prophets, and the Holy Volumes of the ancient Founders of their Sect, and in singing Hymns to the Honour of their Maker; absolutely temperate and abstemious, neither eating nor drinking till Night, the only time they thought fit to refresh and regard the Body; some of them out of an insatiable desire of growing in knowledge and virtue, fasting many days together. What Diet they had was very plain and simple, sufficient only to provide against hunger and thirst; a little Bread, Salt and Water being their constant bill of fare: their cloaths were as mean as their food, designed only as a present security against cold and nakedness. And this not only the case of Men,

men, but of pious and devout Women that lived (though separately) among them; that they religiously observed every Seventh Day, and especially the preparatory Week to the great solemnity, which they kept with all expressions of a more severe abstinence and devotion. This and much more he has in that Tract concerning them.

3. THESE excellent Persons *Eusebius* peremptorily affirms to have been Christians, converted and brought under these admirable Rules and Institutions of Life by S. Mark at his coming hither, accommodating all passages to the Manners and Discipline of Christians: followed herein by * *Epiphanius*, || *Hierom*, and others of old, as by † *Baronius*, and some others of later time: and this so far taken for granted, that * many have hence fetched the rise of Monasteries and religious Orders among Christians. But whoever seriously and impartially considers *Philo's* account, will plainly find that he intends it of Jews and Professors of the Mosaic Religion, though whether *Essenes*, or of some other particular Sect among them, I stand not to determine. That they were not Christians, is evident, besides that *Philo* gives not the least intimation of it, partly because it is improbable that *Philo* being a Jew should give so great a character and commendation of Christians, so hateful to the Jews at that time in all places of the World; partly in that *Philo* speaks of them as an institution of some considerable standing, whereas Christians had but lately appeared in the World, and were later come into Egypt; partly, because many parts of *Philo's* account do no way suit with the state and manners of Christians at that time; as that they withdrew themselves from publick converse, and all affairs of civil life, which Christians never did, but when forced by violent Persecutions, for ordinarily, as *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* tell us, they promiscuously dwelt in Towns and Cities, plowed their Lands, and followed their Trades, eat and drank, and were clothed and habited like other men. So when he says, that besides the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, they had the Writings of the Antient Authors of their Sect and Institution; this cannot be meant of Christians: for though *Eusebius* would understand it of the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, yet besides that they were few of them published when *Philo* wrote this discourse, they were however of too late an Edition to come under the character of antient Authors. Not to say that some of their Rites and Customs were such, as the Christians of those days were mere strangers to, not taken up by the Christian Church till many years, and some of them not till some Ages after. Nay some of them never used by any of the Primitive Christians; such were their religious dances, which they had at their Festival Solemnities, especially that great one which they held at the end of every Seven Weeks; when their entertainment being ended, they all rose up, the Men in one Company, and the Women in another, dancing with various measures and motions, each Company signing Divine Hymns and Songs, and having a *Præcentor* going before them, now one singing, and anon another, till in the conclusion they joined in one common Chorus, in imitation of the triumphant Song sung by *Moses* and the *Israelites* after their deliverance at the Red Sea. To all which let me add, what a Learned * Man has observed, that the *Essenes* (if *Philo* means them) were great Physicians (thence probably called Θεραπευταί, Healers, though || *Philo*, who is apt to turn all things into Allegory, refers it only to their curing, τῶν ψυχῶν νόσους καὶ κατὰ φύσιν χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσίατοις, ὥς καὶ πνεύματι ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐκδημιῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, καὶ κακῶν ἀνέναντον πληθύνον, the Souls of Men infected and over-run with difficult and desperate distempers, created by pleasures and extravagant appetites, and a long train of other lusts and passions) * *Josephus* reporting of them that they accurately study the Writings of the Antients, excerpting thence whatever is conducive either to Soul or Body; and that for the curing of Diseases, they diligently enquired into the virtues of Roots and Stones, that were most proper to drive away Distempers. An account no ways agreeing with the Christians of those times, who miraculously cured Diseases without the Arts of Physick, or any other Preparations, than calling the Name of Christ over the afflicted Person. Doubtless that which led *Eusebius* into the mistake, was the conformity that he observed between the Christian Ασκηταί, in and before his time, who entred upon a more strict and severe course of life, and these Therapeutæ described by *Philo*, an ordinary fancy being able to draw a fair parallel between them, and so it was but removing them some Ages higher, and imagining them to have been converted and founded by S. Mark, and the work was done. Indeed it is not to be doubted, but that Persons educated under these excellent rules and methods of life, were more than ordinarily prepared for the reception of Christianity (between which and their Principles and Rules of Life, there was so great an affinity and

* *Hæres. XXIX*
p. 57.
|| *De Scrip. in*
Philone.
† *Ad Ann. 64.*
n. 11.
* *Sozom. H.*
Ecel. lib. 1.
c. 12. p. 419.
Cassian de In-
stit. Monach.
lib. 2. c. 5. p. 12.

Phil. ibid.
p. 901, 902.

* *N. Full. Mis-*
cell. Sac. lib. 1.
cap. 3.
|| *Lib. sup. citat.*
p. 889.

* *De Bell. Ju-*
daic. lib. 2. c. 8.
p. 786.

and agreement) which must needs render our Evangelist's success great in those Parts, and open the way for men to come flocking over to the Faith.

4. S. MARK did not confine his Preaching to *Alexandria*, and the Oriental Parts of *Egypt*, but removed * *Westward* to the parts of *Libya*, going through the Countries of *Marmarica*, *Pentapolis*, and others thereabouts, where though the People were both barbarous in their manners, and idolatrous in their worship, yet by his preaching and Miracles he made way for the entertainment of the Gospel, and left them not, till he had not only gained them to, but confirmed them in the profession of it. Returning to *Alexandria* he preached freely, and ordered and disposed the Affairs of the Church, and wisely provided for succession by constituting Governours and Pastors of it. But the restless enemy of the Souls of Men would not long suffer him to be quiet: It was the time of *Easter*, at what time the great Solemnities of *Serapis* happened to be celebrated, when the minds of the People being excited to a passionate vindication of the honour of their *Idol*, broke in upon S. Mark, then engaged in the solemn celebration of Divine worship, and binding his Feet with Cords, dragged him through the streets and the most craggy places to the *Bucelus* a Precipice near the Sea, and for that Night thrust him into Prison, where his Soul was by a Divine Vision erected and encouraged under the ruins of his shattered body. Early the next Morning the Tragedy began again, dragging him about in the same manner, till his Flesh being raked off, and his Blood run out, his spirits failed, and he expired. But their malice died not with him, *Metaphrastes* adds that they burnt his Body, whose Bones and Ashes the Christians there decently entombed near the place where he was wont to Preach. His Body, at least the remains of it, were afterwards with great Pomp removed from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where they are religiously honoured, and he adopted as the *Tutelar Saint* and Patron of that State, and one of the richest and stateliest Churches erected to his Memory, that the World can boast of at this Day. He suffered in the Month *Pharmuthi*, on the XXV. of *April*, though the certain Year of his Martyrdom is not precisely determined by the Antients. * *Kirstenius* out of the *Arabick Memoirs* of his Life says, it was in the Fourteenth of the last Year of *Claudius*: || S. *Hierom* places it in the Eighth of *Nero*. But extravagantly wide is * *Dorotheus* his computation, who makes him to suffer in the time of *Trajan*, with as much truth as || *Nicephorus* on the other hand affirms him to have come into *Egypt* in the Reign of *Tiberius*. If in so great variety of Opinions I may interpose my conjecture, I should reckon him to have suffered about the end of *Nero's* Reign: For supposing him to have come with S. *Peter* to *Rome* about the Fifth or Sixth Year of *Nero*, he might thence be dispatched to *Alexandria*, and spend the residue of his Life, and of that Emperor's Reign, in planting Christianity in those parts of the World. Sure I am that * *Irenæus* reports S. Mark to have out-lived *Peter* and *Paul*, and that after their decease he composed his Gospel out of those things which he had heard *Peter* preach. But whatever becomes of that, it is evident that *Irenæus* supposed (whose supposition certainly was not founded upon meer fancy and conjecture) that S. Mark for some considerable time survived the Martyrdom of those two great Apostles. A passage that so troubled *Christopherson* (one of those who in these latter Ages first translated *Eusebius* into *Latin*) because crossing the accounts of their Writers in this matter, that he chose rather to expunge the word, *decease*, and substitute another of a quite different sense, expressly contrary to the Faith of all antient Copies, and to the most antient Version of *Irenæus* it self. But to return. Saint Mark as to his || Person was of a middle size and stature, his Nose long, his Eye-brows turning back, his Eyes graceful and amiable, his Head bald, his Beard prolix and gray, his Gate quick, the constitution of his Body strong and healthful.

5. HIS Gospel, the only Book he left behind him, was, as before we observed, written at the intreaty of the Converts at * *Rome*, who not content to have heard *Peter* preach, pressed S. Mark his Disciple, that he would commit to Writing an Historical account of what he had delivered to them: which he performed with no less faithfulness than brevity, all which S. *Peter* perused, ratified with his Authority, and commanded to be publicly read in their religious Assemblies. And though, as we noted but now, *Irenæus* seems to intimate that it was written after S. *Peter's* death: yet all that can be inferred hence will be, what in it self is a matter of no great moment and importance, that the Antients were not agreed in assigning the exact time when the several Gospels were published to the World. If we will give way to the conjectures of a || Learned man, the difficulty will soon cease: he tells us, that the *ἡγεμονία* *ἡγεμονία* in *Irenæus*, should be rendred, not *after their death*, but *after their departure*, viz. from *Rome*. And though this be not the common usage of the word, yet might

* S. Metaphr.
Martyr. S. Marc.
apud Sur. ad di-
em 25. Apr. Pro-
cop. Diac. lau-
dat. S. Marc. ib.
n. 8. Niceph. H.
Ecc. l. 2. c. 43. p.
209. Id. ibid.

Vid. vit. ejus
M. S. Arabice
script. ap. Kir-
sten. p. 37.

* Ubi supra.

|| Descript. Ecc.
in Marc.

* Synops. de vit.

& mort. App. in

Bibl. Pp Tom. 3.

p. 148. col. 2.

|| Lib. 2. c. 43.

p. 209.

* Adv. Hæres.

lib. 3. c. 1. pag.

229. citat. eti-

am ap. Euseb.

lib. 5. c. 8.

p. 172.

|| Metaphr. i.

bid. n. 10. Ni-

ceph. ib. p. 210.

* Clem. Al. Hy-

potyp. lib. 6. ap.

Euseb. l. 2. c. 15

p. 53. Papias ib.

l. 3. c. 39. p. 113.

|| Grot. Annot.

in prozm.

Marc.

might it have been admitted, had there been any authority of the Ancients to prove that S. Peter was twice at Rome. Therefore not relying upon this, he flies to an ancient Copy, where the words are read *μὲν τὸν ἐκδοσιν* after the publication of S. Matthew's Gospel, whereof Irenæus had spoken in the words before. But he should have done well to have named his ancient Copy, no such having been hitherto mentioned by any other Writer. And therefore it leaves a suspicion that he had no better authority, than the boldness of Christopherſon, who indeed thrusts such a conjecture into the margin of his Book, and accordingly so renders it in his translation, with what design, we observed before. But to return. It was frequently styled S. Peter's Gospel, not so much because dictated by him to S. Mark, as because he principally composed it out of that account which S. Peter usually delivered in his Discourses to the People. Which probably is the reason of what * Chryſoſtom observes, that in his style and manner of expression he delights to imitate S. Peter, representing much in a few words. Though he commonly reduces the story of our Saviour's Acts into a narrower compass than S. Matthew, yet want there not passages, which he relates more largely than he. The last Chapter of his Gospel, at least part of it, was (as || Hieron informs us) wanting in all ancient Greek Copies, rejected upon pretence of some disagreement with the other Gospels, though, as he there shews, they are fairly consistent with each other. His great impartiality in his Relations appears from hence, that he is so far from concealing the shameful lapse and denial of Peter, his dear Tutor and Master, that he sets it down with some particular circumstances and aggravations, which the other Evangelists take no notice of. Some dispute has been made in what Language it was written, whether in Greek or Latin: That which seems to give most countenance to the Latin Original, is the note that we find at the end of the Syriack Version of this Gospel, where it is said that Mark preached and declared his Holy Gospel at Rome *Λατινῶν*; in the Roman, or the Latin Tongue. An evidence that with me would almost carry the force of a demonstration, were I assured that this note is of equal value and authority with that Ancient Version, generally supposed to come very few Centuries short of the Apostolick Age. But we know how usual it is for such additions to be made by some later hand. And what credit is to be given to the subscriptions at the end of S. Paul's Epistles, we have shewed elsewhere. Besides, that it is not here said that he wrote, but that he Preached his Gospel at Rome in that Language. The Advocates of the Romish Church plead, that it's very congruous and suitable, that it should at first be consigned to Writing in that Language, being principally designed for the use of the Christians at Rome. An objection that will easily vanish, when we consider, that as the Convert Jews there understood very little Latin, so there were very few Romans that understood not Greek, it being (as appears from the Writers of that Age) the gentile and fashionable Language of those times. Nor can any good reason be assigned, why it should be more inconvenient for S. Mark to write his Gospel in Greek for the use of the Romans, than that S. Paul should in the same Language write his Epistle to that Church. The Original Greek Copy, written with S. Mark's own hand, is said to be extant at Venice at this Day; written (as they tell us) by him at Aquileia, and thence after many Hundreds of Years translated to Venice, where it is still preserved, though the Letters so worn out with length of time, that they are not capable of being read. A story which as I cannot absolutely disprove, so I am not very forward to believe, and that for more reasons than I think worth while to insist on in this place.

Ταῦτα ὅσα τὸ διδασκαλίας μαθὼν. καὶ ὃς φοιτήτης ἦν Πέτρῳ. ὁθεν μάλιστα ἀντίς αὐτὸν ἐκπλασέην, ὅτι ὁ μόνον ἐκ ἐκρυψε τὸ ἐλάττωμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σαφέστερον ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτὸς τὸ τῶν μαθητῶν. Chrys. Homil. 86. in Matth. p. 719.

Vid. Pap. loc. supr. citat.

* Homil. 3. in Matth. p. 30.

|| Ad Hedib. Quæst. 3. p. 143. T. 3.

Corn. à Lap. prefat. in Marc. p. 562.

The End of S. Mark's Life.

THE LIFE OF S. LUKE the Evangelist.

S. LUKE.



2. COR. 8. 2. 19.

The Brother, whose praise is in γ Gospel through out all γ Churches: And not that onely, but who was also chosen of γ Churches to travell with us.

St Luke his Martyrdom.



Col. 4. 14. Luke the beloved Physician. The brother whose Praise is in the Gospel.
2 Cor. 4. 11. We are delivered unto death for Jesus sake. Bearing in the body the stings of the Lord Jesus.

Antioch S. Luke's Birth-place. The fame and dignity of it. His learned and liberal Education. His study of Physick. His skill in Painting. S. Luke none of the Seventy. Converted, where, and by whom. His constant attendance upon S. Paul. In what Parts he principally exercised his Ministry. The place and manner of his Death. The translation of his Body to Constantinople. His Writings. Theophilus, who. His Gospel, where written, and upon what occasion. How fitted for it. The Acts of the Apostles written at Rome, and when. Why principally containing the Acts of S. Paul. This Book why publicly read just after Easter in the Primitive Church. S. Luke's polite and exact style and way of writing above the rest.

1. **S**AINTE Luke was born at Antioch, the Metropolis of Syria, a City celebrated for its extraordinary blessings and eminence, the pleasantness of its situation, the fertility of its Soil, the riches of its Traffick, the wisdom of its Senate, the learning of its Professors, the civility and politeness of its Inhabitants, by the Pens of some of the greatest * Oratours of their times: And yet above all these renowned for this one peculiar honour, that here it was that the Disciples were first called Christians. It was an University, replenished with Schools of Learning, wherein

* Dion. Chrys. Orat. 47. de Patria. Liban Orat. 11. cui Tit. Ἀντιόχεια. Tom. 2. Chrysost. Encom. Antioch. Τὴ πόλιν ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡμεῶν ἀδόλεως ἀξίωμα; ἐρμήνο πρώτον ἐν Ἀντιόχεια

τὸ μαθητὰς χρηματίζου Χριστιανός. τὸτο δὲ
ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν οἰκισμῶν ἐξ ἑλπίων, καὶ
αὐτὴν ἡ Ρομύλας πόλιν. Chrysost. Hom. 17. ad
Pop. Antioch. p. 198. Tom. 1.

* S. Metaphr.
apud Sur. ad
diem 18. Octob.
p. 289.

|| Grot. Annot.
in Luc. 1.

* Metaphr. ib.
Niceph. l. 2.
c. 43.
|| De imag. non
manif. et d.
S. Luca p. 18.
c. 18. et 19.
p. 354.
Rom. Subterr.
Part. 2. c. 46.
n. 10. p. 183.

* Theophyl.
Argum. in Luc.
p. 293.
|| Hæf. 51.
p. 188.

* Theoph. ut
prius Arabs vit.
Script. ap. Kir-
sten. de Quat.
Evangel. p. 39.
Luke 1. 2.

Loc. supra lau-
dat.

Acts 16. 10.

* Epist. ad
Ephes. p. 44.

|| Metaphr. ubi
supr. n. 11.

Ubi supra.

were Professors of all Arts and Sciences. So that being born in the very lap of the Muses, he could not well miss of an ingenious and liberal education, his natural parts meeting with the advantages of great improvements. Nay, we are

* told, that he studied not only at *Antioch*, but in all the Schools both of *Greece* and *Egypt*, whereby he became accomplished in all parts of Learning and humane Sciences. Being thus furnished out with skill in all the preparatory Institutions of Philosophy, he more particularly applied himself to the study of *Physick*, for which the *Grecian Academies* were most famous; though they that hence infer the quality of his Birth and Fortunes, forget to consider, that this noble Art was in those times generally managed by persons of no better rank than servants: Upon which account a Learned man conceives *S. Luke*, though a *Syrian* by birth, to have been a servant at *Rome*, where he sometimes practised *Physick*, and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own Country, and probably continued his profession all his life, it being so fairly consistent with, and in many cases so subservient to the Ministry of the Gospel, and the care of Souls. Besides his abilities in *Physick*, he is said to have been very skilful in * *Painting*, and there are no less than three or four several pieces still in being, pretended to have been drawn with his own hand; a Tradition which || *Gretser* the Jesuit sets himself with a great deal of pains, and to very little purpose to defend; though his Authors, either in respect of credit or antiquity, deserve very little esteem and value. Of more authority with me would be an ancient *Inscription* found in a Vault near the Church of *S. Mary in via lata* at *Rome*, supposed to have been the place where *S. Paul* dwelt, wherein mention is made of a Picture of the *B. Virgin*, UNA EX VII. AB LUCA DEPICTIS, being one of the seven painted by *S. Luke*.

2. HE was a Jewish Profelyte, *Antioch* abounding with men of that Nation, who had here their Synagogues and Schools of Education; so that we need not with * *Theophylact* send him to *Jerusalem*, to be instructed in the study of the Law. As for that opinion of || *Epiphanius* and others, that he was one of the Seventy Disciples, one of those that deserted our Lord for the unwelcome discourse he made to them, but recalled afterward by *S. Paul*, I behold it as a story of the same coin and stamp with that of *S. Mark's* leaving *Christ* upon the same occasion, and being reduced by *Peter*, and that the one was made to answer the other; as upon no better ground it is * said, that he was one of those two Disciples that were going to *Emmaus*. For besides the silence of Scripture in the case, he himself plainly confesses, that he was not from the beginning an Eye-witness and minister of the Word. Most probable it is, that he was converted by *S. Paul* during his abode at *Antioch*, when as the Apostles of catchers of Fish were become fishers of Men, so he of a Physician of the Body became a Physician of the Soul. This, *Nicephorus* will have to have been done at *Thebes*, the chief City of *Bæotia*, about forty miles from *Athens*, though it appears not to me by any credible Author that ever *S. Paul* was there. He became ever after his inseparable companion and fellow-labourer in the Ministry of the Gospel, especially after his going into *Macedonia*, from which time in recording the History of *S. Paul's* travels, he always speaks of himself in his own Person. He followed him in all his dangers, was with him at his several arraignments at *Jerusalem*, accompanied him in his desperate Voyage to *Rome*, where he still attended on him to serve his necessities, and supply those ministerial Offices, which the Apostle's confinement would not suffer him to undergo, and especially in carrying messages to those Churches where he had planted Christianity. This infinitely endeared him to *S. Paul*, who own'd him for his fellow-labourer, called him the beloved Physician, and the Brother whose praise is in the Gospel, throughout all the Churches; which the Ancients, and especially * *Ignatius*, apply to our Evangelist.

3. PROBABLE it is that he did not wholly leave *S. Paul* till he had finished his course, and crowned all with Martyrdom; though there are that tell || us, that he left *S. Paul* at *Rome*, and returned back into the East, travelled into *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya*, Preached the Gospel, wrought Miracles, converted Multitudes, constituted Guides and Ministers of Religion, yea, that he himself took upon him the Episcopal charge of the City of *Thebais*. *Epiphanius* gives us this account, that he first preached in *Dalmatia* and *Galatia* (he reads it ἐν τῇ Γαλιᾷ, in Gaul, or France, and peremptorily affirms, that they are all mistaken that say it was *Galatia* where *Crescens* preached, though some think that himself in the mean while is under the most confident mistake) then in *Italy* and *Macedonia*; where he spared no pains, declined no dangers, that he might faithfully discharge the trust committed to him. The Ancients are not very well

well agreed, either about the time or manner of his death, some affirming him to die in Egypt, others in Greece, the * *Roman Martyrology* in Bithynia, || *Dorotheus* at Ephesus; some make him die a natural, others a violent death. Indeed neither *Eusebius* nor S. Hierom, take any notice of it: But * *Nazianzen*, || *Paulinus* Bishop of Nola, and several other expressly assert his Martyrdom; whereof * *Nicephorus* gives this particular account, that coming into Greece he successfully preached, and baptized many Converts into the Christian Faith, till a Party of Infidels, making head against him, drew him to execution; and in want of a Cross whereon to dispatch him presently, hanged him upon an Olive-tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth says || S. Hierom) year of his Age. * *Kirstenius* from an ancient Arabick Writer, makes him to have suffered Martyrdom at Rome, which he thinks might probably be after S. Paul's first imprisonment there, and departure thence; when S. Luke being left behind as his Deputy to supply his place, was shortly after put to death; the reason (says he) why he no longer continued his History of the Apostles Acts, which surely he would have done, had he lived any considerable time after S. Paul's departure. His Body afterwards, by the command of Constantine, or his Son Constantius, was solemnly removed to Constantinople, and buried in the great Church built to the memory of the Apostles.

4. TWO Books he wrote for the use of the Church; his Gospel, and the History of the Apostles Acts, both dedicated to Theophilus, which many of the * Ancients suppose to be but a feigned name, denoting no more than a lover of God, a title common to every Christian. While others with better reason conclude it the proper name of a particular person, especially since the style of most excellent is attributed to him, the usual title and form of address in those times to Princes and great Men. || *Theophylact* styles him *συγκλητικὸν ἀνδρα καὶ ἀρχοντα ἰσως*, a man of Consular dignity, and probably a Prince; the * Author of the *Recognitions* makes him a Nobleman of Antioch, converted by S. Peter, and who upon his conversion gave his House to the Church for the place of their publick and solemn Meetings. We may probably suppose him to have been some Magistrate, whom S. Luke had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated these Books, not only as a testimony of honourable respect, but as a means of giving him farther certainty and assurance of those things, wherein he had been instructed by him. For his Gospel, || S. Hierom supposes it to have been written in Achaia during his travels with S. Paul in those Parts, whose help he is generally said to have made use of in the composing of it, and that this the Apostle primarily intends when he so often speaks of his Gospel. But whatever assistance S. Paul might contribute towards it, we are sure the Evangelist himself tells us, that he derived his intelligence in these matters from those, who from the beginning had been eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word. Nor does in the least detract from the authority of his relations, that he himself was not present at the doing of them; for if we consider who they were from whom he derived his accounts of things, *Habuit utique authenticam paraturam*, as * *Tertullian* speaks, he had a stock both of credit and intelligence sufficiently authentick to proceed upon, delivering nothing in his whole History but what he had immediately received from persons present at, and concerned in the things which he has left upon record. The occasion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent those false and fabulous relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, partly to supply what seem'd wanting in those two Evangelists that wrote before him, and the additions or larger explications of things are particularly enumerated by || *Irenæus*. He mainly insists upon what relates to Christ's Priestly-office, and though recording other parts of the Evangelical story, yet it ever is with a peculiar respect to his Priesthood. Upon which account the Ancients in accommodating the four Symbolical representations in the Prophet's Vision to the four Evangelists, assigned the Ox or Calf to S. Luke.

5. HIS History of the Apostolical Acts was written no doubt at Rome, at the end of S. Paul's two Years imprisonment there, with which he concludes his story; it contains the Actions, and sometimes the Sufferings of some principal Apostles, especially S. Paul; for, besides that his activity in the cause of Christ made him bear a greater part both in doing and suffering, S. Luke was his constant attendant, an eye-witness of the whole carriage of his life, and privy to his most intimate transactions, and therefore capable of giving a more full and satisfactory account and relation of them; seeing no evidence or testimony in matters of fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and seen. Among other things, he gives us a particular account of those great Miracles which the Apostles did for the confirmation of their doctrine. And this (as * S. Chrysostom informs us) was the

* Ad diem xviii. Octob. p. 645.
|| De vit. & mor. App. in Bibl. PP. Tom. 3. p. 148.
* Orat. 1. in Julian. p. 76.
|| Epist. 12. ad Sever. de Basil. p. 138.
* Lib. 2. c. 43. p. 210.
|| De Script. Ecc. in Luca.
* Vit. Quat. Evang. p. 45.

* Orig. Hom. 1. in Luc. fol. 94.
Ambros. in Luc. 1. p. 9. T. 5. vid. Epiph. Hæref. 11. p. 186.
|| Argum. in Luc. p. 293.
* Lib. 10. prop. fin. fol. 120.

|| Proem. in March. Tom. 9.

* Adv. Marc. lib. 4. c. 2. p. 414.

|| Adv. Hæref. lib. 3. c. 14. p. 272.

* Serm. 73. Cur. Act. App. legatur in Pentec. Tom. 5.

the reason why in the Primitive times the Book of the *Acts*, though containing those Actions of the Apostles that were done after *Pentecost*, were yet usually read in the Church before it, in the space between that and *Easter*, when as at all other times those parts of the Gospel were read which were proper to the season; it was (*says he*) because the Apostles Miracles being the grand confirmation of the truth of *Christ's* Resurrection, and those Miracles recorded in that Book, it was therefore thought most proper to be read next to the Feast of the Resurrection. In both these Books his way and manner of writing is exact and accurate; his style polite and elegant, sublime and lofty, and yet clear and perspicuous, flowing with an ease and natural grace and sweetness, admirably accommodate to an historical design, all along expressing himself in a vein of purer *Greek*, than is to be found in the other Writers of the Holy Story. Indeed being born and bred at *Antioch* (than which no place more famous for Oratory and Eloquence) he could not but carry away a great share of the native genius of that place, though his style is sometimes allayed with a tang of the *Syriack* and *Hebrew* dialect. It was observed of old (as S. *Hierom* tells us) that his skill was greater in *Greek* than *Hebrew*, that therefore he always makes use of the *Septuagint* Translation, and refuses sometimes to render words, when the propriety of the *Greek* Tongue will not bear it. In short, as an *Historian*, he was faithful in his Relations, elegant in his Writings; as a *Minister*, careful and diligent for the good of Souls; as a *Christian*, devout and pious: and who crowned all the rest with the laying down his life for the testimony of that Gospel, which he had both preached and published to the World.

* Comm. in c. 6.
Esai. p. 30. T. 5.
Ibid. in c. 28.
p. 118. Epist. ad
Damasc. p. 124.
T. 3.

The End of S. LUKE's Life.

DIPTYCHA

DIPTYCHA APOSTOLICA:

OR,

A Brief Enumeration and Account of the APOSTLES and their SUCCESSORS, FOR THE

First Three Hundred Years in the Five Great Churches,

Said to have been Founded by them; thence called by the Ancients,

APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES:

V I Z.

*Antioch, Rome, Jerusalem, Byzantium or Constantinople,
and Alexandria.*

A N T I O C H.

THIS I place first, partly because 'tis generally acknowledged, even by the *Romish* Writers, that a Church was founded here by *S. Peter* some considerable time before that at *Rome*; partly because here it was that the Venerable name of Christians did first commence. In which respect the || Fathers in the Council at *Constantinople* under *Nestarius*, in their *Synodicon* to them at *Rome*, style the Church of *Antioch*, *ἡ ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἀληθινὰ ἀποστολική*, *The most Ancient, and truly Apostolical*; and **S. Chrysostom*, *the Head of the whole World*. The Succession of its Bishops till the time of *Constantine* (which shall be the Boundary of this Catalogue) was as followeth.

- I. *S. Peter* the *Apostle*; who governed this Church at least Seven years, *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* says Eleven.
- II. *Evodius*, who sat 23 years. In his time the *Disciples* were first called *Christians* at *Antioch*.
- III. *Ignatius*. After near 40 years Prefidency over this Church he was carried out of *Syria* to *Rome*, and there thrown to wild Beasts in the Theatre, *Ann. Chr. 110. Trajan. 11.*
- IV. *Heron*, he was Bishop 20 years: To him succeeded
- V. *Cornelius*, who kept the place 13 years, dying *Ann. Chr. 142.*
- VI. *Eros*, 26, or as *Eusebius*, 24 years.

VII. *Theophilus*, 13, a Man of great Parts and Learning; many of his Works were extant in *Eusebius* his time, and some of them we still have at this day.

VIII. *Maximinus*, 13, he dying, the next that was chosen, was

IX. *Serapio*, 25, many of his Works are mentioned by *Eusebius* and *S. Hierom*. To him succeeded

X. *Asclepiades*, a Man of great worth and eminency, and invincible constancy in the time of persecution; he continued in this See 9 years. || Ap. Theod. H. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 151.

XI. *Philetus*, 8.

XII. *Zebinus*, or *Zebennus*, he sat 6 years. * *Homil. 3. ad Pop. Ant. Tom. 1. p. 40.*

XIII. *Babylas*, 13, after many conflicts and sufferings for the Faith, he received the crown of Martyrdom under *Decius*, and commanded his Chains to be buried with him.

XIV. *Fabius*, or as the Patriarch *Nicephorus* calls him, *Flavins*, possessed the Chair 9 years. He was a little inclining towards *Novatianism*.

XV. *Dimetrianus*, he sat Bishop, says *Nicephorus* 4, says *Eusebius*, 8 years.

XVI. *Paulus Samosatensis* sat in the Chair 8 years, when for his Unepiscopal manners and practices, his unsound *Dogmata* and principles, and especially his mean and unworthy opinions concerning our Saviour, he was condemned and deposed by a Synod at *Antioch*, whose Synodical determination is at large extant in *Eusebius*.

XVII. *Domnus* succeeded in the place of the deposed. He was son to *Demetrian*, *Paulus*

Paulus his predecessor in that See; constituted and ordained to the place by the Fathers of that *Synod*, who farther give him this honourable character, that he was a Man indued with all Episcopal virtues and ornaments. *Eusebius* makes him to have sitten 6, *Nicephorus* but 2 years.

XVIII. *Timæus*, he sate in the Chair 10 years.

XIX. *Cyrillus*, who presided over that Church in the account of *Nicephorus* 15, of *Eusebius* 24 years.

XX. *Tyrannus*, he sate 13 years; in his time began the tenth Persecution under *Dioclesian*, which rag'd with great severity

XXI. *Vitalis*, 6.

XXII. *Philogonius*, 5, succeeded by

XXIII. *Paulinus*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Paulus*, who after five years was deposed and driven out by the prevalence of the *Arian* faction.

XXIV. *Eustathius*, formerly Bishop of *Beræa*, a learned Man, and of great note and eminency in the Council of *Nice*, the first general Council, summoned by the Great *Constantine*, after he had restored peace and prosperity to the Church.

R O M E.

THE foundation of this Church is with just probabilities of reason by many of the Fathers equally attributed to *Peter* and *Paul*, the one as *Apostle* of the *Circumcision* preaching to the *Jews*, while the other probably as the *Apostle* of the *Uncircumcision* preached to the *Gentiles*. Its Bishops succeeded in this order.

I. *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, who both suffered Martyrdom under *Nero*.

II. *Linus*, the son of *Herculanus*, a *Tuscan*; he is mentioned by *S. Paul*, he sate between 11 and 12 years.

III. *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, or *Anencletus*, supposed by many to be the same person; (though others who reckon *Anacletus* a *Greek*, born at *Athens*, make them distinct, whom yet we have left out, not being mentioned by *Eusebius*) a *Roman*, the son of *Æmilianus*, sate 9, though others say but 2 years.

IV. *Clemens*, a *Roman*, born in Mount *Cælius*, the son of *Faustinus*, near akin, say some, to the Emperor: He was condemned to dig in the Marble-Quarries near the *Euxine* Sea, and by the com-

mand of *Trajan* with an Anchor about his neck thrown into the Sea. He was Bishop of *Rome* 9 years, and 4 months.

V. *Enaristus*, by birth a *Greek*, but his Father a *Jew* of *Bethlehem*. He is said to have been crowned with Martyrdom the last year of *Trajan*, in the ninth of his Bishoprick, or as others, the thirteenth.

VI. *Alexander*, a *Roman*, though young in years, was grave in his manners and conversation. He sate 10 years and 7 months, and died a Martyr.

VII. *Xystus*, or *Sixtus*, a *Roman*, he was Martyred in the tenth year of his Bishoprick, and buried in the *Vatican*.

VIII. *Telephorus*, a *Greek*, succeeded; *Justin* the Martyr flourished in his time. He died a Martyr, having sate 11 years, and 3 months; 10 years 8 months say others; and lies buried near *S. Peter* in the *Vatican*.

IX. *Hyginus*, the son of an *Athenian* Philosopher, was advanced to the Chair under *Antoninus Pius*: He sate 4 years; *Eusebius* says 8.

X. *Pius*, an *Italian*, born at *Aquileia*, he died having been Bishop 11 years, and 4 months; according to *Eusebius*, 15 years.

XI. *Anicetus*, born in *Syria*: He is said after 9, or as others, 11 years, to have suffered Martyrdom, and was buried in the *Via Appia* in the Cemetery of *Callistus*. In his time *Polycarp* came to *Rome*.

XII. *Soter*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Soterichus*, was a *Campanian*, the son of *Concordius*. There was an intercourse of Letters between him and *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*. He died after he had sate 9 years, or as *Eusebius* reckons, 7.

XIII. *Eleutherius*, born at *Nicopolis* in *Greece*. To him *Lucius* King of *Britain* sent a Letter and an Embassy. He sate 15 years, died *Ann. Chr.* 186. and lies buried in the *Vatican*.

XIV. *Victor*, an *African*, the son of *Felix*, a Man of a furious and intemperate spirit, as appeared in his passionate proceedings in the controversy about the observation of *Easter*. He was Bishop 10 years. *Onuphrius* assigns him 12 years and one month.

XV. *Zephyrinus*, a *Roman*, succeeded, and possessed the Chair 8, but as others, 18 years; 20 says *Onuphrius*. A pious and learned Man, but a little warping towards the Errors of *Montanus*.

XVI. *Callistus*, or *Calixtus*, the son of *Domitius*, a *Roman*; a prudent and modest Man. He suffered much in the Persecution under *Alexander Severus*, under whom

whom he became a Martyr, being thrown into a Well by the procurement of *Ulpian* the great Lawyer, but severe enemy of Christians. He fate 6 years, or five as others, and one month; and though he made a Cemetery, called after his own Name, yet was he buried in that of *Calepodius* in the *Appian* way.

XVII. *Urbanus*, the Son of *Pontianus*, a Roman, after 4, or as some, 6 years, he suffered Martyrdom for the Faith: *Eusebius* has 5, *S. Hierome* in his translation 9. He was buried in *Pretextatus* his Cemetery in the *Appian* way.

XVIII. *Pontianus*, the Son of *Calphurnius*, a Roman; for his bold reproving the Roman Idolatry he was banished into the Island *Sardinia*, where he died; he was Bishop about 3 or 4, or as *Eusebius*, 5 years.

XIX. *Anteros*, a Greek, the Son of *Romulus*. He died by that he had kept his Place one month, though others without reason make him to have lived in it many years, and was buried in the Cemetery of *Callistus*.

XX. *Fabianus*, a Roman, he was unexpectedly chosen Bishop, while several others being in competition, a Pigeon suddenly descended, and fate upon his head, the great Emblem of the Holy Spirit. He died a Martyr after 14 years; buried in the same place with his Predecessor.

XXI. *Cornelius*, a Roman, he opposed and condemned *Novatian*: frequent Letters passed between him and *Cyprian*. After somewhat more than 2 years he was first cruelly whipped, and then beheaded: buried in a Vault within the Grange of *Lucina*, near the *Appian* way.

XXII. *Lucius*, a Roman, fate 2, or as others, 3 years. He suffered Martyrdom by the command of *Valerian*, and was buried in *Callistus* his Cemetery.

XXIII. *Stephanus*, a Roman, the Son of *Julius*: Great contests were between him and *Cyprian*, about rebaptizing those who had been baptized by Hereticks. He was beheaded after he had fate about 2 or 3 years, though others say 7; and buried with his Predecessor.

XXIV. *Xystus*, a Greek, formerly a Philosopher of *Athens*. After 1, or as others compute, 2 years, and 10 months, he suffered Martyrdom, *Eusebius* reckons it 8 years.

XXV. *Dionysius*, of a Monk made Bishop, *λόγιος καὶ θαυμαστός*, in the judgment of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, a truly learned and admirable Person. The time of his Presidency is uncertainly assign'd, 6, 9, 10, 11. *Eusebius* extends it to 12 years.

XXVI. *Felix*, a Roman: In his time arose the *Manichean* Heresie. He suffered about the fourth or fifth year of his Episcopacy, and lies buried in the *Aurelian* way, in a Cemetery of his own two miles from *Rome*.

XXVII. *Eutychianus*, a Tuscan, a Man exceedingly careful of the Burial of Martyrs, after one years space was himself crowned with Martyrdom, *Eusebius* allows him but 8 months: *Onuphrius* 8 years and 6 months.

XXVIII. *Caius*, or as *Eusebius* calls him, *Gaius*, a Dalmatian, kinsman to the Emperour *Dioclesian*, and in the Persecution under him became a Martyr. He fate 11 years, some say longer. *Eusebius*, 15 years. He was beheaded, and buried in *Callistus* his Cemetery.

XXIX. *Marcellinus*, a Roman: Through fear of torment he did sacrifice to the Gods, but recovering himself, died a Martyr, after he had fate 8 or 9 years. He was beheaded, and buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla* in the *Salarian* way. To him succeeded

XXX. *Marcellus*, a Roman; he was condemned by *Maxentius* the Tyrant to keep Beasts in a Stable, which yet he performed with his Prayers and Exercises of devotion. He died after five years, and six months, and was buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla*.

XXXI. *Eusebius*, a Greek, the Son of a Physician. He suffered much under the Tyranny of *Maxentius*. He fate 6 years say some, 4 say others, though *Eusebius* allows him but 7 months, *Onuphrius* 1 year and 7 months; he was buried in the *Appian* way near *Callistus* his Cemetery.

XXXII. *Miltiades*, an African. He might be a Confessor under *Maxentius*, but could not be a Martyr under *Maximinus*, as some report him. He fate 3 or 4, though others assign him but 2 years: and was buried in the Cemetery of *Callistus*.

XXXIII. *Silvester*, a Roman. He was elected into the place, Anno Chr. CCCXIV. fetch'd from the Mountain *Soracte*, whither he had fled for fear of Persecution. He was highly in favour with *Constantine* the Great. He fate 23, *Nicephorus* says 28 years.

Jerusalem.

THE Church of *Jerusalem* may in some sense be said to have been founded by our Lord himself, as it was for some time

C c culti-

cultivated and improved by the Ministry of the whole College of Apostles. The Bishops of it were as followeth.

- I. S. James the Less, the Brother of our Lord, by him, say some, immediately constituted Bishop, but as others more probably, by the Apostles: He was thrown off the Temple, and knock'd on the head with a Fuller's Club.
- II. Symeon, the Son of Cleopas, Brother to Joseph, our Lord's reputed Father. He sat in this Chair 23 years, and suffered Martyrdom in the reign of Trajan, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his Age.
- III. Justus succeeded in his room, and sat 6 years.
- IV. Zachens, or as Nicephorus the Patriarch calls him, Zacharias, 4.
- V. Tobias; to him, after 4 years, succeeded
- VI. Benjamin, who sat 2 years.
- VII. John, who continued the same space.
- VIII. Matthias, or Matthæus, 2 years.
- IX. Philippus, 1 year: next came
- X. Seneca, who sat 4 years.
- XI. Justus 4.
- XII. Levi, or Lebes, 2.
- XIII. Ephrem, or Ephres, or as Epiphanius styles him, Vaphres, 2.
- XIV. Joseph, 2.
- XV. Judas, 2. Most of these Bishops, we may observe to have but a short time, following one another with a very quick succession. Which doubtless was in a great measure owing to the turbulent and unquiet Humour of the Jewish Nation, frequently rebelling against the Roman powers, whereby they provoked them to fall heavy upon them, and cut off all that came in their way, making no distinction between Jews and Christians; as indeed they were all Jews, though differing in the Rites of their Religion. For hitherto the Bishops of Jerusalem had successively been of the Circumcision, the Church there having been intirely made up of Jewish Converts. But Jerusalem being now utterly laid waste, and the Jews dispersed into all other Countries, the Gentiles were admitted not only into the Body of that Church, but even into the Episcopal Chair. The first whereof was
- XVI. Marcus, who sat 8 years.
- XVII. Cassianus, 8.
- XVIII. Publius, 5.
- XIX. Maximus, 4.
- XX. Julianus, 2.
- XXI. Caiannus, 3.
- XXII. Symmachus, 2.
- XXIII. Caius, 3.

- XXIV. Julianus, 4.
- XXV. Elias, 2. I find not this Bishop mentioned by Eusebius; but he is recorded by Nicephorus of Constantinople.
- XXVI. Capito, 4.
- XXVII. Maximus, 4.
- XXVIII. Antoninus, 5.
- XXIX. Valens, 3.
- XXX. Dulichianus, 2.
- XXXI. Narcissus, 4. He was a Man of eminent Piety, famous for the great Miracles which he wrought; but not being able to bear the aspersions which some unjustly cast upon him (though God signally and miraculously vindicated his Innocency) he left his Church, and retired into deserts and solitudes. In his absence was chosen
- XXXII. Dins, who sat 8 years. After him
- XXXIII. Germanio, 4.
- XXXIV. Gordius, 5. In his time Narcissus, as one from the dead, returned from his solitudes, and was importuned by the People again to take the government of the Church upon him; being highly revered by them, both for his strict and philosophical course of life, and the signal vengeance which God took of his Accusers: And in this second administration he continued ten years, suffering Martyrdom when he was near 120 years old. To relieve the infirmities of his great Age, they took in to be his Colleague
- XXXV. Alexander, formerly Bishop in Cappadocia, who at that time had out of devotion taken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; the choice being extraordinarily designed by a particular revelation from Heaven. He was an eminent Confessor, and after having sat 15 years, died in Prison under the Decian Persecution: By him Origen was ordained Presbyter: He was a great Patron of Learning as well as Religion, a studious preserver of the Records of the Church: He erected a Library at Jerusalem, which he especially furnished with the Writings and Epistles of Ecclesiastical Persons: And out of this Treasury it was that Eusebius borrowed a great part of his materials for the composing of his History.
- XXXVI. Mazabanes, 9 years.
- XXXVII. Hymeneus, 23.
- XXXVIII. Zabdas, 10.
- XXXIX. Hermon, 9. He was, as Eusebius tells us, the last Bishop of this See before that fatal Persecution that rag'd even in his time.
- XL. Macarius, ordain'd Ann. Chr. CCCXV. He was present in the great Nicene Council.

Council. He fate, says *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*, 20 years, but *S. Hierom* allows him a much longer time.

BYZANTIUM,

Afterwards called
CONSTANTINOPLE.

THAT this Church was first founded by *S. Andrew*, we have shewed in his Life. The succession of its Bishops, was as followeth.

- I. *S. Andrew the Apostle*. He was crucified at *Patra* in *Achaia*.
- II. *Stachys*, whom *S. Paul* calls, *his beloved*; *Stachys*, ordained Bishop by *S. Andrew*; he fate 16 years.
- III. *Onesimus*, 14.
- IV. *Polycarpus*, 17.
- V. *Plutarchus*, 16.
- VI. *Sedecio*, 9.
- VII. *Diogenes*, 15. Of the last three no mention is made in *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*, but they are delivered by *Nicephorus Callistus*, lib. 8. c. 6. p. 540.
- VIII. *Eleutherius*, 7.
- IX. *Felix*, 5.
- X. *Polycarpus*, 17.
- XI. *Athenodorus*, 4. He erected a Church called *Elea*, afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Constantine the Great*.
- XII. *Euzoius*, 16. Though *Nicephorus Callistus* allow but 6.
- XIII. *Laurentius*, 11 years and six months.
- XIV. *Alypius*, 13.
- XV. *Pertinax*, a Man of *Consular* dignity, he built another Church near the Seaside, which he called, *Peace*. He fate 19 years, which *Nicephorus Callistus* reduces to 9.
- XVI. *Olympianus*, 11.
- XVII. *Marcus*, 13.
- XVIII. *Cyriacus*, or *Cyrellianus*, 16.
- XIX. *Constantinus*, 7. In the first year of his Bishoprick he built a Church in the North part of the City, which he dedicated to the honour of *Euphemia* the Martyr, who had suffered in that Place. In this Oratory he spent the remainder of his life, quitting his Episcopal Chair to
- XX. *Titus*, who fate 35 years and 6 months, though *Nicephorus Callistus* makes it 37 years. After him came
- XXI. *Dometius*, Brother (as they tell us) to the Emperour *Probus*, he was Bishop 21 years, 6 months.
- XXII. *Probus* succeeded his Father *Dometius*, and fate 12 years. As after him

XXIII. *Metrophanes* his Brother, who governed that Church 10 years. And in his time it was that *Constantine* translated the Imperial Court hither, enlarged and adorned it, called it after his own name, and made it the Seat of the Empire.

XXIV. *Alexander* succeeded, a Man of great piety and integrity, zealous and constant in maintaining the truth against the blasphemies of *Arius*. He fate 23 years.

ALEXANDRIA.

THE foundations of this Church were laid, and a great part of its superstructure rais'd by *S. Mark*, who though not strictly and properly an *Apostle*, yet being an *Apostle* at large, and immediately commissioned by *S. Peter*, it justly obtained the honour of an *Apostolical* Church. Its Bishops and Governours are thus recorded.

- I. *S. Mark the Evangelist*, of whose Travels and Martyrdom we have spoken in his Life. *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* makes him to sit 2 years.
- II. *Anianus*, charactered by *Eusebius*, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἐν παντί θαυμάσιος, a Man beloved of God, and admirable in all things. He ruled in that Throne 22 years.
- III. *Avilius*, 12, or as *Eusebius*, 13.
- IV. *Cerdo*, succeeded about the first year of *Trajan*; he fate 10 years, according to *Eusebius*, 11.
- V. *Primus*, 12.
- VI. *Iustus*, or *Justinus*, 10.
- VII. *Enmenes*, 10, or as *Eusebius*, 13. *S. Hierom* in his Translation calls him *Hymeneus*.
- VIII. *Marcus* or *Marcianus*, 13; or as *Eusebius*, 10.
- IX. *Celadion*, 10; but in *Eusebius* his computation, 14.
- X. *Agrippinus*, 14; according to *Eusebius*, 12.
- XI. *Julianus*, 15; though *Eusebius* allows but 10.
- XII. *Demetrius*, 21; but *Eusebius* more truly makes him to have governed that Church no less than 43 years. He was a Man of great zeal and piety, and underwent many troubles in the Persecution at *Alexandria*. He was at first a great friend to *Origen*, but afterwards became his enemy, laying some irregularities to his charge: partly out of emulation at the great reputation which *Origen* had gained in

- in the World; partly, in that *Origen* had suffered himself to be ordained Presbyter by two other Bishops, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus* of *Cæsarea*.
- XIII. *Heraclas*, a Man of a Philosophical genius, and way of life. He was educated under the institution of *Origen*, and by him taken to be his Assistant in the School of the *Catechumens*, the whole government whereof he afterwards resigned to him; and upon the Death of *Demetrius* he was advanced to the government of that Church, the care whereof he took for 16 years; though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* by a mistake, I suppose, for his Predecessour, makes it 43.
- XIV. *Dionysius*, 17. He was one of the most eminent Bishops of his time: He was one of *Origen's* Scholars, then preferred first Master of the *Catechetical* School at *Alexandria*, and afterwards Bishop of that See. In the Persecution under *Decius* he was banished first to *Taposiris*, a little Town between *Alexandria* and *Canopus*; then to *Cephro*, and other Places in the Desarts of *Libya*. But a large account of his own and others sufferings, with many other transactions of those times, we have out of his own Letters yet extant in *Eusebius*: He died in the twelfth year of the Emperour *Gallienus*.
- XV. *Maximus*; of a Presbyter he was made Bishop of *Alexandria*; he sat in that Chair 18 years according to *Eusebius* his computation, though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* assigns but 8.
- XVI. *Theonas*, 17, or according to *S. Hierom's* Version of *Eusebius*, 19: To him succeeded
- XVII. *Petrus*, 12. He began his Office three years before the last Persecution. A Man of infinite strictness and accuracy, and of indefatigable industry for the good of the Church. He suffered in the ninth year of the Persecution, with the loss of his Head, gaining the Crown of Martyrdom: After whose Death came in the prosperous and happy days of the Church, *Constantine the Great* turning the black and dismal scene of things into a state of calmness and serenity.
- XVIII. *Achillas*, 9, though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* allows him but one year. By him *Arius* upon his submission was ordained Presbyter.
- XIX. *Alexander*, 23. Under him *Arius* began more openly to broach his Heresie at *Alexandria*, who was thereupon excommunicated and thrust out by *Alexander*, and shortly after condemn'd by the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*.

T H E E N D.



A CATALOGUE of Mr. Richard Roylston's COPIES as they stand Entred in the Register of the Company of Stationers. Now belonging to the Children of Mr. Luke Meredith, deceased.

January 26. 1628. **O**NE Copy call'd, An Elegy upon the Death of the most hopeful young Prince, Henry, eldest Son to his Majesty of Bohemia.

October 1. 1629. Francis Coles and the said Richard Roylston enter a Copy call'd, The Sacrifice of a Contrite Heart. Penned by John Evans, M. A.

May 10. 1630. Richard Roylston enters a Copy call'd, A Banquet of Jest; or, change of Cheer; being a Collection of Modern Jest, witty Jeers, pleasant Taunts, merry Tales, &c.

April 26. 1631. Mr. Young and Richard Roylston enter a Book call'd, The Compleat Gentlewoman.

June 16. Ditto. Richard Roylston enters a Copy call'd, The Fair Maid of the West, 1st. and 2d. Part.

July 28. Ditto. True Religion explained and defended against the Arch-enemies thereof in these Times. Written By Hugh Crosshaw, and Translated into English by Fra. Coventry, Esquire.

Febr. 6. Ditto. Assigned over to him by Martha Swaine, a Copy call'd, The Promises, or, Saints Legacy.

March 23. 1632. Richard Roylston entred a Copy call'd, The Lover beguiled.

March 10. 1633. Mr. Allot, Mr. Grismond, Mr. Milburn, Richard Roylston, and Hen. Taunton, entred a Copy call'd, Emblems Ancient and Modern, with Metrical Illustrations, &c. By Geo. Wither, Gent.

June 6. 1635. Assigned to Richard Roylston by John Crouch, a Copy call'd, The Christian Directory; or, Rules of Christian Piety and Wisdom, &c.

Sept. 19. 1639. Richard Roylston entred a Copy call'd, The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine most worthy Women; three Jews, three Gentiles, and three Christians. By Mr. Thomas Heywood.

Feb. 19. Ditto. A full third part in the Book call'd, Fourscore Sermons, penn'd and preach'd by the Reverend John Dunne, D. D. late Dean of St. Paul's; assigned to him by Mr. Flesher and Mr. Marriot.

Ditto. Mr. Flesher, Mr. Marriot, and Richard Roylston entred a Book call'd, Fifty Sermons, penn'd and preach'd by the said John Dunne; with his Picture and the Tables to all the Sixscore and Ten Sermons.

Sept. 5. 1640. Richard Roylston entred two Copies assigned to him by John Coleby, call'd, Heroine, &c. By Mr. Geo. Rivers. And, The Lost Lady.

Octob. 5. Ditto. A Copy assign'd to him by Richard Clutterbuck, called, Meditations for Prayer upon the Seven Days of the Week. By Sir Rich. Baker.

April 5. 1642. A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church on the King's Coronation-day, by Dr. Gardner.

Decemb. 17. 1644. Mr. Bourne and Richard Roylston entred a Book call'd, Anabaptistarum Catacrisis; or, the Anabaptist dipt and plunged. By Dan. Featly, D. D.

Ditto. Richard Roylston entred a Book called, Boanarges Sinai; or, Judgment and Mercy for afflicted Souls. By Francis Quarles, with his Picture engraven in Copper.

April 18. 1645. Solomon's Recantation, entituled Ecclesiastes paraphras'd, with twelve Soliloquies. And also Mr. Quarles's Life written by his Wife.

April 23. 1645. Enchiridion of Fortifications; or, a handful of Knowledge in Martial Affairs, with 20 Brass Cutts and a Copper Title belonging to the said Book.

May 5. Ditto. A Sermon preached at the Funeral of Dr. Featly by Dr. Low, with a Relation of his Life and Death, and a Brass-plate of his Monument, with Verses underneath it.

June 2. Ditto. The Shepherd's Oracle delivered in an Eclogue.

3. Ditto. A Comedy call'd, The Jealous Lover; by Thomas Randall; which said Copy was formerly printed at Cambridge, as by a Note under their Hands appears; which is put upon the File.

July 26. 1645. A Practical Catechism in Octavo, containing two and twenty Sheets and a half.

Octob. 15. Ditto. Of Conscience, &c.

Novemb. 20. Ditto. Five learned Treatises, viz. 1. Of Scandal. 2. Of Worship. 3. Of Superstition. 4. Of Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness. 5. Of a late or Death-bed Repentance. By Dr. Hammond.

Ditto. Several Speeches made by Dr. Featly before the Assembly of Divines, with King James's Advice.

Ditto. The Cure of the Kingdom's great Curse; or, an Antidote for the Tongue that is accustomed to Swearing. By Robert Bourman.

April 17. 1645. Certain Prayers grounded on the Psalms of David, with certain Devotions thereunto annexed, &c. by Sir Christ. Hatton.

May 23. 1645. A Treatise of Self-denial, &c.

Sept. 4. 1646. The Additions and Appendix to the Practical Catechism, by Dr. Hammond.

Nov. 30. 1646. Directions for the Reading of the Scriptures with profit, with the Description of a Spiritual Man, both

in his Nature and Operations, and the clearing and asserting of the Morality of the Fourth Commandment in all things. By Mr. John White of Dorchester.

Dec. 1. Ditto. A Warning for England, especially for London, in the famous History of the Frantick Anabaptists, their wild Preaching and Practices in Germany.

Dec. 21. Ditto. A new and easie Institution of Grammar, in which the Labour of many Years usually spent in learning the Latin Tongue is shortened and made easie.

March 8. Ditto. A Discourse of the Liberty of Propheying; shewing the unreasonableness of prescribing to other Men's Faith, and the Iniquity of persecuting differing Opinions, &c.

March 12. Ditto. Several Letters written between Dr. Hammond and Mr. Francis Cheynell.

April 23. 1647. Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture, &c. By Mr. Gregory.

April 29. Ditto. The Discovery of Witches, by Mat. Hopkins.

July 24. Ditto. Of Fraternal Admonition or Correpction.

Sept. 3. Ditto. Of the Power of the Keys, or, of Binding and Loosing, by Dr. Hammond.

Octob. 2. Ditto. The Privileges of the University of Oxford in point of Visitation.

Nov. 10. 1648. The Soul's Soliloquy, and a Conference with Conscience, &c. By Dr. Duppa Bishop of Salisbury.

May 23. 1649. The Papers which passed at Newcastle, between his Sacred Majesty and Mr. Alexander Henderson, concerning the change of Church Government.

Dec. 31. Ditto. A Sovereign Salve to cure wounded Spirits, &c. By Rich. Gove.

Ditto. The Returns of Spiritual Comfort and Grief in a Devout Soul, &c. By John Dunton.

Ditto. Mercurius Pedaneus; or, a short way to the Latin Tongue. By Jo. Phillips.

Dec. 31. 1649. Troposchematalogia, &c. By Mr. Stevens.

March 11. The Reasonableness of Christian Religion for the satisfying of some Disputes of these Evil Times.

Octob. 21. 1650. Some Animadversions and Observations upon Sir Walter Rawleigh's History of the World, &c. By Alexander Rosse.

Ditto. Additional, or certain Cases of Doubt.

Nov. 7. The true Citizen; or, the Elements of Philosophy, &c. reserving every Man's Right.

Nov. 30. La Stratonica di Luca Assarino Libri Tres, translated into English.

Dec. 16. Barnabas; or, Wine and Oyl for afflicted Souls. By Francis Quarles.

Jan. 7. Dissertationes quinque quibus Episcopatus jura ex S. Scriptura, &c. contra Sententiam D. Blundelli et aliorum. Authore H. H.

14. Grotii opera, viz. Annotationes in Libros Evangelii et in Acta Apostolorum, et Epistolas Apostolicas, et in Novum Testamentum, et in Apocalypsin.

Ditto. Hugonis Grotii de jure belli ac pacis.

April 8. 1651. Sermons; the 1st. intituled, The Spirit of Grace, &c. By Jeremy Taylor, D. D.

Ditto. A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament, briefly explaining all the difficult places thereof. By H. Hammond, D. D.

Ditto. Certamen Religiosum; or, a Conference between the late King of England and the late Lord Marquess of Worcester, together with a Vindication of the Protestant Cause from the Pretences of the Marquess's last Papers, which the necessity of the King's Affairs denied him opportunity to answer.

June 23. The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying, &c. together with Prayers and Acts of Vertue to be used by the Sick, &c. Also Rules for the Visitation of the Sick, &c. By Jeremy Taylor, D. D.

Sept. 16. The Gallantry of Heroick Women, written in French by F. Peter le Moyne of the S. of J. and translated into English by M. of W.

Nov. 24. Two Copies, viz. The great Exemplar; or, the Life of Christ; and, The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living.

Feb. 9. Tabula Feneratoria; or, a most easie and compendious way to find out the Simple Interest of any Number to a Shilling for 365 Days, &c. Calculated by Roger Clanel.

March 18. 1651. A short Catechism for the Institution of young Persons in the Christian Religion. To which is added, an Explication of the Apostolical Creed. By Jer. Taylor, D. D.

April 21. 1652. A Discourse of holy Love, by which the Soul is united unto God; containing, &c. Written in Spanish by Chrid de Fonseca, and translated into English by Sir George Strode, Knight.

May 27. Observations upon Aristotle's Politicks, touching Forms of Government: Together with Directions for Obedience to Governours in dangerous and doubtful Times.

July 1. Devotion digested, in several Discourses upon the Lord's Prayer. Together with Nine Additional Exercises; (viz.)

A Catalogue of Mr. Roylston's Copies.

- (viz.) upon Baptism, the Lord's Supper, &c. By P. Samways.
- Ditto.* The Division between the English and Romish Church upon the Reformation, &c. By Henry Ferne, D. D.
- Ditto.* A Letter of Resolution to Six Queries of present use in the Church of England. 1st. Of the way of resolving Controversies, &c. By Hen. Hammond, D. D.
- Ditto.* A Discourse of Baptism, its Institution and Efficacy upon all Believers, by Jeremy Taylor, D. D.
- May 9. 1653. XXV Sermons preached at Golden Grove, being for the Winter half Year, by Jeremy Taylor, D. D.
- Dit.* England's faithful Reprover and Monitor, by Mr. Samways.
- Sept. 3. The grand Conspiracy of the Members against the Mind; or, Jews against their King, delivered in 4 Sermons by John Allington a sequestred Divine.
- Nov. 9. The History of the Church of Scotland, by Dr. Spotswood late Archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland.
- Ditto.* The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the blessed Sacrament proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. By Jer. Taylor, D. D.
- Ditto.* Ἑτυμολογιὸν μικρὸν, sive Etymologium parvum. By Francis Gregory Schoolmaster at Westminster.
- Ditto.* A Contemplation of Heaven, with an Exercise of Love, and a Descant on the Prayer in the Garden, by Tho. White.
- Jan. 30. The Quakers wild Questions objected against the Ministers of the Gospel; together with a Discourse of the holy Spirit, by Richard Sherlock, B. D.
- Ditto.* A Sermon called, The matching of the Magistrates Authority, and the Christians true Liberty in matters of Religion, by William Lyford, B. D.
- Ditto.* A Defence of the Church of England against the Exceptions of the Romanists, by Henry Hammond, D. D.
- Jan. 30. 1653. White Salt; or, a sober Correction of a mad World, in some well-wishes to Goodness, by J. Sherman, B. D.
- Ditto.* The Communicants Guide, by Richard Grove sometime Preacher of God's Word at Henton St. George in Somerset.
- Feb. 26. Fundamentals in a Notion referring to Practice. By Hen. Hammond, D. D.
- July 4. 1654. Reasons of the present Judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, &c. By Dr. Robert Sanderson.
- Octob. 23. Inquisitio Anglicana; or, the Disguise discover'd, &c.
- Jan. 25. A Reply to the Catholick Gentleman's Answer to the most material parts of the Book of Schism, &c. By H. Hammond, D. D.
- Ditto.* The Golden Grove; or, a Manual of daily Prayers and Litanies fitted to the Days of the Week, containing what is to be believed, practis'd and desir'd. Also, Festival Hymns according to the manner of the Ancient Church. By the Author of the Great Exemplar.
- May 3. 1655. An account of Mr. Cawdrey's Triplex Diatribe, concerning Superstition, Will worship, and Christmas Festival. By H. Hammond, D. D.
- Ditto.* Unum Necessarium; or, the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance. By Jer. Taylor.
- Ditto.* A correct Copy of some Notes concerning God's Decrees, especially of Reprobation.
- May 3. 1655. The plain Man's Senses exercised to discern both Good and Evil, &c. By William Lyford, B. D.
- Aug. 7. Anglicisms Latinized, &c. by T. Willis.
- Ditto.* The Disarmer's Dexterity examined, in a second Defence of the Treatise of Schism, by H. Hammond, D. D.
- Ditto.* The Baptizing of Infants reviewed and defended from the Exceptions of Mr. Tombes, &c. by H. Hammond, D. D.
- Octob. 23. Six Books of late Controversie in Defence of the Church, &c. By Dr. Hammond.
- Ditto.* The persecuted Minister in defence of the Ministry, &c. By Mr. William Langley.
- Nov. 26. A Discourse of Artificial Handsomeness in point of Conscience between two Ladies.
- Jan. 28. A help for young People, preparing them for the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper. Together with a Tract of Admission to the Lord's Supper, &c. By William Lyford, B. D.
- March 6. The Turkish Policy, &c. By Francis Osborne, Gent.
24. The Principles of Holy Christian Religion; or, the Catechism of the Church of England paraphras'd, by R. Sherlock, B. D.
- Ditto.* An Answer to a Letter written by the Lord Bishop of Rochester, concerning the Chap. of Original Sin in the Unum Necessarium. By Jeremy Taylor, D. D.
- April 18. 1656. Ductor Dubitantium in 3 Books, &c. by Jeremy Taylor, D. D.
- Ditto.* An Apology for the Liturgy against the pretence of the Spirit. By Jeremy Taylor, D. D.
- Ditto.* The Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy by Divine Institution and Catholick Practice. By Jer. Taylor, D. D.
- Ditto.* A Sermon preach'd at St. Mary's Church in Oxford upon the Anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason, by Dr. Taylor.
- May 23. An Apology for the Ministry, by W. Lyford.
- June 9. The Sinner impleaded in his own Court, &c. by Tho. Pierce.
- July 4. The Copy of a Letter to the Countess Dowager of Devonshire touching Original Sin. By Jer. Taylor, D. D.
- Sept. 12. Deus Justificatus; or, a Vindication of the Glory of the Divine Attributes in the Question of Original Sin against the Presbyterian way of understanding it. By Dr. Taylor.
- Dec. 5. The Divine Philanthropy defended against the Declamatory Attempts of certain late Printed Papers, intitled, A Corroptory Correction. By Tho. Pierce.
- Ditto.* The Law of Laws; or, the Excellency of the Civil Law above all other Human Laws whatsoever, &c. By R. Wiseman.
- Ditto.* Scripture Duties, by Mr. Barksdale.
- Jan. 31. Assign'd to him by Mr. John Clarke, Sen. the Copies following, viz. Diatribe, 1st. 2d. 3d. and 4th Parts. The name Altar, or Ουμαχέριον. Churches, that is, appropriate places for Christian Worship. Reverence in God's House. A Sermon at St. Mary's. Daniels Weeks. Σαλατιπιδνα. Remains on some passages in the Revelations. Holiness of Churches in several Churches: All written by Jos. Mead, D. D.
- Feb. 27. 1656. Assign'd unto him by Mr. Sam. May, 2 Copies, viz. The Apostacy of the latter Times; or, the Gentiles Theology of Demons, &c. And, A Paraphrase and Exposition of the Prophecy of St. Peter concerning the Day of Christ's Second coming, &c. both by Jos. Mead B. D.
- April 13. 1657. Several Letters between the Jansenists and Molinists, &c. translated out of French.
- June 8. Σύμβολον Ἡσυχαστικόν: Or, a Collection of Polemical and Moral Discourses. By Jer. Taylor, D. D.
- July 16. A Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer Publick and Private, &c. By Dr. Taylor.
- Aug. 10. The Divine Purity defended; or, a Vindication of some Notes concerning God's Decrees, especially of Reprobation from the Censure of Dr. Reynolds, &c. By Tho. Pierce.
14. Assign'd to him by Robert Clavel a Book call'd, Cœna quasi— The new Inclosures broken down, and the Lord's Supper laid forth in common. By William Morris.
- Octob. 16. Additionals to Jesuitism, &c. translated out of French by a Person of Quality.
- 3*. The Examination of Tilenus before the Tryers, in order to his intended Settlement in the Office of a publick Preacher in the Commonwealth of Utopia, &c.
- Dec. 16. The Signs of the Church of England, humbly presented to my honoured and well-beloved Countrymen, Persons of true Honour, Piety and Prudence, who have just Gratitude, Love and Pity to her.
- Jan. 26. Historical Memoirs on the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, by Henry Osborne.
- March 26. 1658. Εαυτοτυμωσιν; or the Self-revenger exemplified in Mr. William Barlee, by way of Rejoynder to the first Part of his Reply, &c. By Thomas Pierce.
- April 7. 1658. Advice to a Son, the 2d. Part, by Fr. Osborne.
17. The Jesuits upon the Scaffold in order to their Execution for several Crimes committed by them in Guienne, with other Pieces tending to the further discovery of that Mysterious Society.
- May 15. A short view of the Life and Reign of King Charles (the Second Monarch of Great Britain) from his Birth to his Burial. By P. Heylin, D. D.
- June 10. R. Roylston and R. Marriot entred a Book call'd, Respondet Petrus; or, the Answer of Peter Heylin, D. D. to so much of Dr. Bernard's Book entituled, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a Party to by the said Lord Primate in the point of Sabbath: And by the said Dr. in some others. To which is added, an Appendix in answer to some Passages in Sanderson's History of the Life & Reign of K. Charles, in which the Respondent is concern'd.
- Aug. 20. Self-condemnation exemplified in Mr. Whitfield, Mr. Barlee and Mr. Hickman. By Tho. Pierce, Rector of Brington.
- Ditto.* Mr. Seyle and Mr. Roylston entred a Book call'd, Advertisements on the compleat History of Mary Q. of Scotland, K. James the 6th. and K. Charles. By P. Heylin, D. D.
- Ditto.* Mr. Seyle and Mr. Roylston entred a Book call'd, The Rectifying of Mistakes in some Modern Histories, occasion'd by the Partiality and Inadvertencies of their several Authors. By Peter Heylin, D. D.
- Nov. 16. Mr. Roylston entred a Book call'd, ΦΙΛΑΛΛΗΛΙΑ; or, the grand Characteristick, whereby a Man may be known to be Christ's Disciple; deliver'd in a Sermon at St. Paul's, before the Gent. of Wiltshire, Nov. 10. 1658. it being the Day of their yearly Feast. By Tho. Pierce Rector of Brington.
- Dec. 14. Some Instructions concerning the Art of Oratory, collected for the Use of a Friend, a young Student.
- Jan. 25. 1658. A Miscellany of sundry Essays, Paradoxes and Problematical Discourses, Letters and Characters. By Francis Osborne, Esquire.
- May 28. 1659. Περίουα Ἐπιδημιον; or, vulgar Errors in Practice censured, by Tho. Fenison Student in Cambridge.
- Oct. 3. The Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas late Lord Bishop of Duresm, with a Sermon preach'd at his Funeral, by J. Barwick, B. D. Chaplain to the said Bishop.
- Dec. 27. The Refuter refuted; or, Dr. Hammond's Ἐξέτασις defended against the impertinent Cavils of Mr. Henry Feans, by a third person.
- Feb. 25. Anarchia Anglicana; or the History of Independency, with the Rise, Growth and Practices of that powerful and restless Faction, in Three Parts.
- Ditto.* Of the daily practice of Piety; also Devotions and Prayers in time of Captivity.
- March 5. The faithful (though imperfect) Character of a glorious

A Catalogue of Mr. Roylston's Copies.

glorious King, King Charles his Countries and Religion's Martyr. Written by a person of Quality.

Ditto. The Regal Intruder, or he that sold himself to work Wickedness. Ahab's bloody Invasion of Naboth's Vineyard.

May 9. 1660. The last words of the Pious, Reverend and Learned Dr. Hammond; being two Prayers for the peaceful Re- settlement of this Church and State.

Aug. 18. The League Illegal, wherein the late Solemn League and Covenant is seriously examined, scholastically and so- lidly confuted, &c. Written long since in Prison by Dan. Featly, D. D. Published now by John Fairclough vulgo Featly, Chaplain to the King's most excellent Majesty.

Ditto. A Guide for the Penitent; or, a Model drawn up for the help of a devout Soul wounded with Sin.

April 29. 1661. The Syracusan Tyrant, or the Life of Agathocles.

Ditto. The right Rebel, by Christopher Harvey Vicar of Clif- ton in Warwickshire.

Nov. 29. *Ἰχθυόγραμμα*; or, the Royal Trade of Fishing, &c.

June 10. 1662. *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. The Works of King Charles the Martyr, with a Collection of Declarations, Treatises and other Papers concerning the Differences betwixt his said Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament.

July 4. A View of the Government and Publick Worship of God, &c. by John Durell Minister of the French Church.

Feb. 3. *Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, pars secunda*, &c. Autore Georgio Bates, M. D. &c.

Ditto. An Account of the late Troubles in England, in 3 parts. Written in Latin by George Bates, M. D. now translated into English.

9. A Relation of a Conference betwixt the late Archbishop of Canterbury and Fisher the Jesuit.

Octob. 28. A Discourse of Confirmation, by the Right Re- verend Father in God, Jeremy, L. Bishop of Down and Conner.

Nov. 30. 1653. Rich. Roylston, Jo. Williams and Tim. Garth- wait entered a Sermon preach'd at St. Paul's, Nov. 29. by Richard Lee, D. D.

Feb. 15. A Supplement to the *ἱεραρχία*, or course of Ser- mons for the whole Year, being Seven Sermons preached at *Duo*, in by the Right Reverend Father in God, Jeremy, Lord Bishop of Down and Conner.

Ditto. A Dissuasive from Popery to the People of Ireland, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Jeremy, Lord Bishop of Down and Conner.

Ditto. *Rex Theologus*; or, the Conformity of his Sacred Ma- jesties Direction for the Regulation of the Pulpit to the Judgment and Practice of Antiquity. By Robert Seppem Parson of Switterton in Norfolk.

Ditto. The State of the Empire; or, an Abridgment of the Law and Government of Germany. By D. Alexis, Esquire, Dr. of Laws and Advocate in Parliament.

Aug. 29. 1664. A Memorial deliver'd to his Majesty, July 21. 1664. from the Lord Vangogh Ambassador from the States General of the United Provinces. Translated into English, with the Answer which his Sacred Majesty return'd thereto.

Sept. 5. Entered (Assign'd to him by Edward Waterhouse, Esq.) the Books intituled, A Collection of private Devotions; or, the Hours of Prayer. And, *Ὁρουστικὸν Βραχὺ* five, No- menclatura brevis Anglo-Latino-Græca, in usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis.

Dec. 5. A Sermon preach'd to the Honourable Society of Lin- coln's-Inn, &c. by Dr. Cudworth Master of Christ's College in Cambridge.

Ditto. Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; or, the He- resie of the Jesuits.

April 25. 1665. The Countess of Morton's Daily Exercise; or, a Book of Prayers and Rules how to spend the time in the Service and Pleasure of Almighty God.

Nov. 8. 1665. A Sermon preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons at St. Margaret's Westminster, Nov. 7. being the Fast-day appointed for the Plague of Pestilence. By R. Perinchief, D. D.

June 29. 1667. The second Part of the Dissuasive from Pope- ry, in Vindication of the first Part; and further Reproof and Conviction of the Roman Errors, by Jer. L. B. of Down.

July 27. Entered by virtue of an Assignment from Dixy Page, one Book intituled, The Child's Guide, and Youths-Book; and another intituled, A Guide for the Child and Youth.

Sept. 21. The Buckler of State and Justice against the design manifestly discovered of the Universal Monarchy, under the vain pretext of the Queen of France her Pretensions: Translated out of French 1667.

Nov. 7. A Funeral Sermon, preach'd at the Obsequies of the Right Reverend Father in God, Jeremy, Lord Bishop of Down, by Dr. George Rust Dean of Conner.

Feb. 11. A free Conference touching the present State of England both at home and abroad, in order to the De- signs of France.

Nov. 26. 1668. A Friendly Debate between a Conformist and a Nonconformist.

April 27. 1669. A Continuation of the Friendly Debates be- tween a Conformist and a Nonconformist, by the Author of the first Part.

July 21. 1669. An Appendix, shewing the Construction of Mr. Clavell in Tables of Interest and Rebate, Forbearance,

Discount and Purchase of Annuities, at the Rate of 6 l. per Cent. &c. By Tho. Russell, Gent.

May 12. 1670. *Holl Dydeld Dyn*, &c. or, the Whole Duty of Man in the Welch Language, &c.

June 3. 1671. A Disc. concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper: To which is added, 2 Sermons, by R. Cudworth, D. D.

Ditto. Christian Consolations taught from five Heads in Reli- gion. 1. Faith. 2. Hope. 3. The Holy Spirit. 4. Prayer. 5. The Sacraments. Written by a Learned Prelate.

Ditto. The Design of Christianity; or, a plain Demonstration and Improvement of this Proposition, viz. That the indu- ing Men with inward real Righteousness or true Holiness, was the principal and ultimate end of our Saviour's com- ing into the World, and is the only Business of his blessed Gospel; being an Appendix to the Free Discourse between two intimate Friends, late publish'd. By the same Author.

Ditto. Directions left by a Gentleman to his Son, for the im- provement of barren and heathy Lands in England & Wales.

30. The Christian Sacrifice; shewing the Necessity, End and Manner of the receiving the Holy Communion: Together with suitable Prayers and Meditations for every Month in the Year, and the principal Festival in memory of our blef- sed Saviour. In 4 parts. Written by Simon Patrick, D. D.

Aug. 14. 1671. *Paræmiologium Anglo-Latin*. or, English and Latin Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings match'd together, in a Collection for the use of Schools, written by W. Walker, B. D.

April 11. 1672. A Treatise of Wounds, by Rich. Wiseman one of his Majesty's Serjeants and Chirurgeons. In part.

Dec. 2. The Practical Christian, by Richard Sherlock.

Ditto. A Form of sound Words; or, a Scripture Catechism, shewing what a Christian is to believe and practise in order to Salvation. By John Worthington, D. D.

Ditto. The Devout Christian; or, a Book of Devotions for Families. By Simon Patrick, D. D.

July 8. 1673. Advice to a Friend, by the Reverend Dr. Patrick.

Ditto. Two several Sermons, viz. The right way to the Victo- ry discovered: And the other, *Concio ad Clerum*; or a Vi- sitation Sermon. Both preached by Dr. Gregory.

Octob. 10. A free and impartial Enquiry into the Causes of that very great Esteem and Honour that the Nonconforming Preachers are generally in with their Followers.

Ditto. Choice Devotions of the Roman Church, with some Re- flections upon them, in 3 parts; also two Digressions con- cerning the Relicks and Miracles in Mr. Cressley's late Church- History, the first part.

Octob. 10. 1673. The Danger of Hypocrisie, by W. Ashton, B. D.

Nov. 26. A short Appendix to the Life of Edmund Stanton, D. D. wherein some Passages are further cleared which were not so fully held forth by the former Authors.

Dec. 2. Animadversions upon a Book entituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church, by Dr. Stiff- lingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and retorted by S. C. By a person of Honour.

July 3. 1674. The Vanity of Scoffing; or, a Letter to a witty Gent. evidently shewing the great Weakness and Unreason- ableness of Scoffing at the Christians Faith on account of its supposed Uncertainty; together with the Madness of the Scoffers unchristian Choice.

Sept. 4. A Serious and Compassionate Inquiry into the Causes of the present Neglect and Contempt of the Protestant Re- ligion and Church of England, with several seasonable Con- siderations offered to all English Protestants, tending to per- swade them to a Compliance with, and conformity to the Religion and Government of this Church, as it is esta- blished by the Laws of the Kingdom.

Octob. 27. Go in Peace; containing some brief Directions for younger Ministers in their Visitation of the Sick, useful for the People in their State both of Health and Sickness.

March 1. 1674. The Family Prayers of those poor Christians who in Court and Country, Cities, Towns, Cottages and Farm-houses, are in good earnest with Religion; together with their way of Intercession or Praying for others.

April 10. 1675. *Antiquitates Christianæ*; or, the History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus; as also, the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of his Apostles, in two Parts. The first Part containing the Life of Christ; written by Jer. Taylor, late Lord Bishop of Down and Conner. The Second con- taining the Lives of the Apostles, with an Enumeration and some brief Remarks upon their first Successors in the five great Apostolical Churches. By William Cave, D. D.

May 2. A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Chri- stian Religion as it is professed in the Church of England, in answer to a compendious way to convince without Dispute all Persons whatsoever dissenting from the true Religion by J. K. By Gilbert Burnett.

Ditto. A Collection of several Treatises concerning the Rea- sons and Occasions of the Penal Laws, viz. 1st. The Exe- cution of Justice in England, not for Religion but for Treason, Dec. 17. 1583. 2dly, Important Considerations by the Secular Priests. Printed An. Dom. 1601. The Jesuits Reasons unreasonable, 1662.

July 3. The Witnesses to Christianity; or, the certainty of our Faith and Hope. By Simon Patrick, D. D. in two Parts.

Feb. 7. By virtue of Assignment from Geo. Wharton, Esq; viz.

1. Child of Light, &c. 2. Return of Prayers, &c. 3. Va- nity

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- nity of Thoughts, &c. 4. Growth in Grace, &c. 5. Certain Sermons upon Rom. 8. 34. 6. Zerubbabel's Encouragement to finish the Temple. 7. The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners on Earth. 8. Encouragements to Faith drawn from several Engagements, &c. 9. An Exposition of the Epist. to the Ephesians. 10. A State of Glory for Spirits of just Men upon Dissolution demonstrated: A Sermon preach'd in Paul's Church, Aug. 30. 1657. before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. 11. Christ the universal Peace-maker; or the Reconciliation of the People of God, &c. 12. Two Cases concerning Sinning against Knowledge by a Man that is Regenerate, and the sinning against the Holy Ghost, wherein it differs from other Sins against Knowledge. 13. The punishment of Sin, in two parts thereof; First, Shame and Confusion of Face at the Day of Judgment for ever in Hell. 2dly, The Wrath of God poured out upon the Soul in Hell. All these by Tho. Goodwin, D. D.
- The numberless Account of Actual Sins, especially of an Unregenerate Man, in two Parts, &c.
- The exceeding Riches of God's saving special Mercies, or, that all in God inclines him to be Gracious.
- May 9. 1676. A modest Plea for the Church of England, by Richard Hollingworth.
- Ditto. The Modern Pleas for Comprehension, Toleration, and the taking away the Obligation to the renouncing of the Covenant considered and discussed.
- Ditto. The grand Presumption of the Roman Church in equaling their Traditions to the Written Word, and their Jealousies of themselves in refusing to admit the Holy Scriptures as the Rule for the Tryal of their Religion, in two Discourses, by Fr. Gregory, D. D.
17. The Presbyterians unmask'd; or, Animadversions upon the Impertinency and Falshood of a Nonconformist Book intituled, *The Interest of England in matters of Religion*.
- Aug. 10. The Memoirs of the Life and Actions of James Duke of Hamilton, being a Continuation of Bishop Spotswood's History of Scotland in Folio. By Gilbert Burnet.
- Sept. 13. 1677. The true Intellectual System of the Universe, wherein the Atheistical Philosophy is confuted, the Naturality of Morality vindicated, and the fatal Necessity of all Actions and Events impugned. By R. Cudworth, D. D. Hebrew Professor of the University of Cambridge, and Master of Christ's College; the first Part.
- Dec. 3. 1677. *Poemata varii Argumenti, partim à Georgio Herberto Latina (utclunq;) reddita, partim conscripta*, A Guil. Dillingham, D. D.
- July 1. 1678. *Anglia Speculum*, A Glass that flatters not. Presented to a Country Congregation at the Solemn Fast April 24. 1678. in a Parallel between the Kingdom of Ireland and England. By S. Patrick, D. D.
- Sept. 23. *Totum hominis, sive summa humani officii exposita in obvia & facili Methodo, in usum omnium, imprimis vero tenuissimi Lectoris Latini in xvii capita distributa: Quorum uno singulis diebus dominicis Lecto totum perlegi potest in Anno. Omnibus necessarium Scholis, una cum privatis devotionibus in variis occasionibus juris factum Latini ab Hen. Dolling, A. M. Scholæ Pub. Dorcest. apud Durotriges moderatore.*
- May 19. 1679. *Roma Ruit*, the Pillars of Rome broken, wherein the several Pleas for the Pope's Authority in England, with all the material Defences of them, as they have been urged by Romanists, from the beginning of our Reformation to this Day, are revis'd and answer'd. To which is subjoyned, a seasonable Alarm to all sorts of Englishmen against Popery, both from their Oaths and their Interest. By Fr. Fulwood, D. D.
- March 21. 1680. R. Royston and B. Took entred for their Copy a Book entituled, Several Chirurgical Treatises. By Rich. Wiseman, Serjeant Chirurgeon.
- Ditto. R. Royston and W. Kettleby entred a Book entituled, *Libertas Evangelica*; or, a Discourse of Christian Liberty, being a further pursuance of the Arguments of the Design of Christianity. By Edward Fowler, Rector of Alballows Breadstreet, London.
- Ditto. R. Royston entred these Copies following, (viz.) 1. The Book of Psalms Paraphras'd, with Arguments to each Psalm. 2. The Book of Job Paraphras'd. 3. The Glorious Epiphany, with the Devout Christian's Love to it. 4. The Truth of Christian Religion, in Six Books. Written in Latin by Hugo Grotius, and now translated into English with the addition of a Seventh Book. These 4 by Simon Patrick, D. D.
- The Mystery of Jesuitism discover'd, in certain Letters written upon occasion of the present Differences at Sorbonne, between the Jansenists and the Molinists, displaying the pernicious Maxims of the late Casuists with Additional Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon several Subjects newly reprinted with Additions, being the 3d Impression, written by a Person of Honour.
- Leges Angliæ*: The lawfulness of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Church of England asserted and vindicated, in answer to Mr. Hickeringill's late Pamphlet stild, *Naked Truth*. The Second Part, by the aforesaid Fr. Fulwood, D. D.
- The Penitent pardon'd; or, a Discourse of the Nature of Sin and the Efficacy of Repentance, under the Parable of the Prodigal Son: By J. Goodman, D. D.
- A Book for Beginners; or, a Help to young Communicants, that they may be fitted for the H. Communion, and receive it with profit. By Simon Patrick, D. D. the 2d Edit.
- Aegyptus Triumphata. Poema Sacrum*, Authore W. Dillingham, S. T. P.
- The lively Picture of Luis du Moulin drawn by an incomparable Hand, together with his last Words; being his Retraction of all the Personal Reflections he had made on the Divines of the Church of England (in several Rooks of his) sign'd by himself on the 4th and the 17th of October, 1630.
- A Sermon preach'd before the King on the 30th of Jan. 1680. being the Fast for the Martyrdom of King Charles I. of blessed Memory; by Fr. Turner, D. D.
- A Sermon against Murmuring, preach'd in the Cathedral Ch. of St. Peter's Exon, on May 29. 1680. by Tho. Long, B. D. one of the Prebendaries of that Church.
- A Sermon preach'd before the King Feb. 10. 1677. by Z. Craddock, D. D. Preacher to the H. Society of Grays-Inn; &c.
- A Sermon preach'd before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, at Guild-hall Chappel, Octob. 31. 1680. being the 21. Sunday after Trin. by Simon Patrick, D. D.
- A Sermon preach'd before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London at Guild-hall Chapel, Jan. 25. 1679. by Jo. Goodman, D. D.
- Christ's Counsel to his Church, in two Sermons preach'd at the two last Fasts on April 21. 1679. the other Decemb. 22. 1680. by Simon Patrick, D. D.
- Octob. 2. 1682. The Funeral Rites and Ceremonies of all Nations: Translated from the French by Paul Lorraine.
- March 10. The Interest of Divine Providence in the Government of the World: A Sermon preach'd at Guild-hall Feb. 21. 1682. by J. Goodman, Chaplain to his Majesty.
- Oct. 15. 1683. The Catholick Doctrine of the Eucharist in all Ages, in answer to what Mr. Arnaud Dr. of the Sorbonne alleges touching the Belief of the Greek, Moscovite, Arminian, Jacobite, Nestorian, Copti, Maronite, and other Eastern Churches; whereunto is added, an Account of the Book of the Body and Blood of our Lord, published under the Name of Bertram, in six Books.
18. A Sermon preach'd before the University of Cambridge, on Sept. 9. being the Day of publick Thanksgiving for the deliverance of his Majesty's Sacred Person, his Royal Brother, and the Government from the late Hellish Fanatick Conspiracy. By Miles Berne, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.
- Jan. 7. 1683. A Winter Evening Conference between Neighbours, in Three Parts. By J. Goodman, D. D.
- May 4. 1684. The Freeholders grand Inquest, touching our Sovereign Lord the King and his Parliament; to which are added, Observations upon Forms of Government, together with Directions for Obedience to Governours in dangerous and doubtful Times, with an Advertisement touching Witches. By the Learned Sir Robert Filmer, Knight.
- Ditto. 10 Sermons preach'd upon several Occasions, by Peter du Moulin, D. D. and Prebendary of Christ's Ch. in Canterbury.
- Ditto. A Sermon preach'd before the King on Easter-day 1684. By Francis L. Bp. of Rochester, and Almoner to his Majesty.
- Aug. 7. The Old Religion demonstrated in its Principles, and describ'd in the Life and Practice thereof; by Dr. John Goodman.
- Dec. 5. A Paraphrase upon the Books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, &c. with Arguments to each Chapter, and Annotations thereupon. By Simon Patrick, D. D.
- Ditto. A Treatise of Necessity and Frequency of Receiving the Holy Communion, with a Resolution of Doubts about it; by the said Simon Patrick, D. D. &c.
- May 30. 1685. A Treatise, shewing, that all Christians ought to read the H. Books, with Directions to them therein, in 3 parts.
- Feb. 1. A Disswative from Popery, by Jeremy L. Bishop of Down. The Third Edition, Revis'd and Corrected by the Author.
- Ditto. A Treatise of Repentance and of Fasting, especially of the Lent Fast, in 3 parts, by Simon Patrick, D. D. &c.
- June 7. 1686. A Sermon preach'd on St. Mark's Day, 1686. in the Parish Church of St. Paul's Covent-Garden; by the said Simon Patrick, D. D.
- Dr. Hammond's Devotions, Twelves
- Worthington's Forms of Prayer for a Family, Octavo.
- New-Year's-Gift, or Advice to a Godson, Octavo.
- Dr. Goodman's Sermons, in part, Octavo.
- Patrick's Psalms, 12ves, in part.
- Patrick, on Prayer, 12ves.
- Taylor, of Friendship, 12ves.
- Gregory, on the Sabbath, 8vo.
- Southcomb on the Sacrament, 12ves.
- Dr. Taylor's Letter to a Lady.
- Dr. Hammond Vindicated, 8vo.
- Dr. Sherlock's Four last things, 12ves.
- Penirchie's Life of King Charles I. 8vo.
- A true Extract of the Copies and parts of Copies late of Richard Royston, deceased; taken out of the Register of Copies belonging to the Company of Stationers, and Examined therewith this 16th day of March, 1686, per John Garret, Clerk to the said Company.

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